

AN ACCOUNT OF
THE ENGLISH COLONY IN
NEW SOUTH WALES

VOLUME II

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN NEW SOUTH WALES

*With Remarks on the Dispositions,
Customs, Manners, etc, of the Native Inhabitants
of that country*

Volume II

by

DAVID COLLINS

Late Judge Advocate and Secretary of the Colony

(Originally published 1802)

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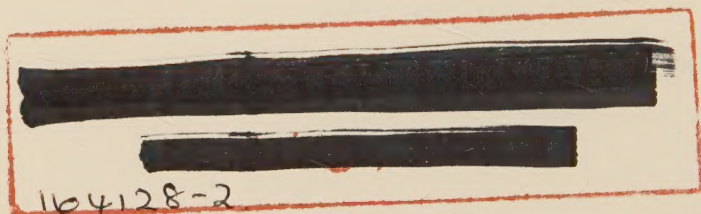
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Are places where the Latitude has been Observed
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AN
A C C O U N T
OF THE
E N G L I S H C O L O N Y
IN
NEW SOUTH WALES,

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, IN JANUARY 1788, TO
AUGUST 1801:

WITH
REMARKS ON THE DISPOSITIONS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, &c. OF
THE NATIVE INHABITANTS OF THAT COUNTRY.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
SOME PARTICULARS OF NEW ZEALAND;

COMPILED, BY PERMISSION,
FROM THE MSS. OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR KING;

AND
AN ACCOUNT OF A VOYAGE PERFORMED BY CAPTAIN FLINDERS AND
MR. BASS; BY WHICH THE EXISTENCE OF A STRAIT SEPARATING
VAN DIEMAN'S LAND FROM THE CONTINENT OF NEW HOLLAND WAS
ASCERTAINED.

ABSTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF MR. BASS.

By Lieutenant-Colonel COLLINS, of the Royal Marines,
LATE JUDGE-ADVOCATE AND SECRETARY OF THE COLONY.

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. II.

"Many might be saved, who now suffer an ignominious and an early death; and many
"might be so much purified in the furnace of punishment and adversity, as to become the
"ornaments of that society of which they had formerly been the bane. The vices of
"mankind must frequently require the severity of justice; but a wise State will direct that
"severity to the greatest moral and political good." ANON.

L O N D O N :

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1802.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
ROBERT LORD HOBART

*His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department,
One of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, etc.*

MY LORD,

FEELING myself highly flattered by your permission to inscribe the following pages to your Lordship, I now humbly presume to offer them to your perusal.

The colonists of New South Wales will feel with me, who must ever take an interest in the welfare of the settlement, a high degree of satisfaction at finding the conduct of their affairs placed under the direction of a nobleman who has dignified the amiable virtues of private life by the acquisition of those more splendid talents which characterise a consummate statesman; thus at once rendering himself the object of veneration and of gratitude to his country.

Your Lordship's services in the several high and important situations which you have filled, are too generally known, and too well remembered, to make me apprehensive lest my humble tribute of applause should be mistaken for other than the genuine feelings of one proud of this opportunity to unite his voice with that of a grateful nation.

The settlement whose annalist I have been has had much to struggle with. Its distance from the protecting wing of the parent government, and the unprecedented war which that government, has so long had to conduct, have very much repressed its energies, and detracted from its natural vigour. But, although the distance must ever remain an obstacle, yet now, that your Lordship can uninterruptedly afford a portion of your valuable time and great abilities to the consideration of its interests, it will, I trust, be found to correct its bad habits, and to maintain, with a degree of respectability, its place among the colonial dominions of our much beloved and most gracious Sovereign.

DEDICATION

That your Lordship may long be permitted to dispense blessings to New South Wales and other distant countries, and to assist, instruct, and adorn your own, is the ardent and anxious wish of him who has the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, very humble,
and devoted servant,

DAVID COLLINS

Beaumont Street,
June 26, 1802

ADVERTISEMENT

London, 17th June 1802

THE very flattering reception which my former *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* experienced from a candid and liberal public, has induced me to continue my labours in the character of its historian; having been favoured with materials for this purpose, on the authenticity of which I can safely stake my credit.

Should the reader feel wearied with the detail of crimes and their consequences, the fault lies not with me. I have only to regret that a soil of so much promise has not produced better fruit. Such as there was, I have diligently gathered; and have endeavoured to render it as palatable as the nature of it would allow me. When we reflect that the exotics with which this new plantation is supplied are chiefly the refuse of our domestic nurseries; and duly consider that, however beneficial the act of transplantation may finally be found, it must for a time retard the growth, and will generally protract the fruit for a season, however fertile the original stock, we ought, perhaps, considerably to moderate our expectations. By patient culture, skilfully directed, in a climate so propitious, and a soil so favourable, much may yet be effected: after experience shall have once thoroughly ascertained all the dangers and difficulties necessary to be surmounted, before the most judicious



W. Alexander del.

J. Powell sculp.

ADVERTISEMENT

cultivators can completely avail themselves of the many local advantages of which the situation is undoubtedly susceptible.

To relieve the mind as much as possible from the contemplation of enormities, and the disgustingly wretched picture which vice must ever exhibit, I have not only interspersed a few notices of rare and curious objects in Natural History peculiar to the Australian regions; but have also inserted the two voyages which were made in the little sloop Norfolk, by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass, in the order of time in which they occurred, instead of placing them in an Appendix.

The Natives too have contributed to assist me in this part of my undertaking; and some additional light is thrown upon their peculiar manners and customs in the course of the work. It were to be wished, that they never had been seen in any other state than that which the subjoined view of them presents, in the happy and peaceable exercise of their freedom and amusements.

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September, 1796.]

IN the former account of the English Colony of New South Wales, which was brought up to the 29th September, 1796, it will be seen, that on that day His Majesty's ship the *Reliance* and the *Britannia* hired transport, sailed, with the *Francis* colonial schooner, for Norfolk Island; whence, being there joined by the *Supply*, the *Reliance* was to sail to the Cape of Good Hope, to return with cattle for the colony, and the *Britannia* was to proceed to England.

The frequent commission of the most atrocious crimes, together with the dissipated, turbulent, and abandoned disposition of the convicts, which had more than ever at this time been manifest, determining the governor to enforce the most rigid discipline, he resolved on constructing a strong and capacious Log Prison at each of the towns of Sydney and Parramatta. It being absolutely necessary that these should be erected as expeditiously as possible, the safety of the inhabitants and security of their property, rendering any delay extremely dangerous, and the public gangs being very weak, he called upon every officer, settler, and housekeeper within the above-mentioned districts, to furnish a certain number of logs for this purpose, which were to be delivered at Sydney, or Parramatta, as might be most convenient to each person's residence; and he had, in a very short time, the satisfaction of seeing the materials which were required brought in much faster than the carpenters could put them together.¹

Among other crimes committed by these people, must be mentioned a variety of impositions which were practised to deceive the commissary

in the issue of provisions. To detect these, an order was given about the end of the month, which directed that every person belonging to each different mess should attend personally at the store on the next serving-day. The convicts had always been divided into messes, containing a certain number of persons; one of whom out of each mess was to attend at the store, and receive provisions for the whole number belonging to it.

On the day appointed, it appeared that many were victualled both at Sydney and Parramatta, and several other impositions were detected and abolished.

In a settlement which was still in a great measure dependant upon the mother country for food, it might have been supposed that these people would have endeavoured by their own industry to have increased, rather than by robbery and fraud to have lessened, the means of their support: but far too many of them were most incorrigibly flagitious. The most notorious of these were formed into a gaol gang, which was composed of such a set of hardened and worthless characters, that, although Saturday was always given up to the convicts for their own private avocations, as well as to enable them to appear clean and decent on Sunday at church, this gang was ordered, as an additional punishment, to work on the Saturday morning in repairing the roads and bridges near the town.

At the close of this month the stone tower of the Wind Mill, and the stone foundation of the Log Prison, were much advanced.

October.] The governor, still turning his thoughts toward rectifying the abuses which had imperceptibly crept into the colony, arranged in the beginning of the following month (October) the muster lists which had lately been taken; and, many more impositions being detected, he ordered the delinquents to labour, after inflicting on them such punishments as their respective offences seemed to demand; by which means he was enabled considerably to increase the number of labouring people in the public gangs. On his going up to Parramatta, whither he was attended by Captain Johnston as his aid-de-camp, and Mr. Balmain (the surgeon) as a magistrate, he recovered at least one hundred men for government work.

Exclusive of the advantage which attended the recruiting of the public gangs in this way, another point was established by this examination, the discovering of several who had been victualled from the stores beyond the period (eighteen months) which had been fixed and considered by government as a sufficient time to enable an industrious man to provide for himself.

Directing his attention also toward the morality of the settlement, a point which he could not venture to promise himself that he should ever attain, he issued some necessary orders for enforcing attendance on divine service, and had the satisfaction of seeing the Sabbath better

observed than it had been for some time past. But there were some who were refractory. A fellow named Carroll, an Irishman, abused and ill treated a constable who was on his duty, ordering the people to church; saying, that he would neither obey the clergyman nor the governor; for which, the next day, he was properly punished.

On the morning of the 16th, the people of a boat which had been sent to the north shore for wood found a man's hat, and a large hammer lying by it. One side of the hat had apparently been beaten in with the hammer, which was bloody; and much blood was also found in the hat, as well as about the spot where it was discovered. It was immediately conjectured, that a man who had been working there with some carpenter's tools had been murdered; and upon its being made known to the governor, he sent several persons to search for the body, which was found thrown over the cliff, and near the water side. On its being examined by the surgeons, the skull was found beaten in, which must have been effected with the hammer, and occasioned his death.² Some suspicion falling upon two people, they were secured, and an examination was the next day taken before the magistrates; but nothing transpired that could fix the offence upon them.

This shocking circumstance was followed shortly after by another equally atrocious: a murder which was committed by a man on the person of a woman with whom he cohabited.³ It appeared that they had both been intoxicated, and had quarrelled on the night preceding and in the morning of the murder.

This made the fifth circumstance of the kind which had occurred within the last twelve months; and so excessively abandoned were the people, that it was scarcely possible to obtain sufficient proof to convict the offenders. Strong presumptive proof, indeed, was frequently adduced; but the kind of evidence necessary to establish the offence was almost constantly withheld.

About this time, some dissatisfaction appearing among the Irish convicts who were ordered to labour, and some threats having been made use of by them, the governor thought it necessary to inform the inhabitants of the colony in general, that, after having pointed out a number of people who had, by false pretences, and various impositions, obtained certificates of discharge from the commissary's books, he did not expect so soon to have occasion to enter again upon the same subject.⁴ He then, taking notice of those who had not hesitated to hold a language which implied a determination to resist all authority, declared, that if any officer, civil or military, any settler, or other person within the colony, should, after Monday, the 7th of November, retain in his or their service any one or more of the persons described in a former order, such persons should be considered as encouraging a set of lawless and seditious people, to the total subversion of all order

and government, and to the weakening of His Majesty's authority in the settlement. He next informed the people whose conduct had occasioned this order, that if they were of opinion, that to threaten would be the best means of obtaining what they desired, they might repent that opinion when too late. That there would not be any difficulty found in furnishing them with a situation in the colony, or in some of its dependencies, where they would not be able to disturb the peace of their neighbours; and that if they were troublesome here, they should certainly be placed in that situation very soon. He concluded this order by informing all the inhabitants of the colony, whether in a civil or a military capacity, that he expected, as they valued His Majesty's authority, or the peace and civil government of the settlement, that they would exert every effort to preserve good order; and, to that end, that they should aid and assist the civil power when and wherever it might be necessary, and report all such persons as they might know to be in any way acting in opposition to this order.

It was hoped by the governor, that this order would convince the people particularly styled defenders, that, if they continued to be troublesome, they would not very readily escape from the punishment to which their turbulent and restless conduct might entitle them.

From the accession of numbers to the public gangs, the different works in hand at Sydney and Parramatta went rapidly on. At the former of these places the erection of a granary, 72 feet in length and 22 in breadth, was begun on the west side of the main street, there not being a building for the reception of grain yet prepared in that township.

Boats were sent round to the Hawkesbury, for various articles wanted at Sydney. From that part of the settlement, the timber most useful for boat and other buildings was occasionally received; shingles also of a good sort were brought round; and frequently the boats returned loaded with grain. It has been shown, in the account of this colony already published, that the farms upon the fertile banks of that river were superior, in point of soil, to any near the principal settlement; and that, had they been in the hands of good and industrious characters, they would have produced abundant crops, and enriched their owners. But every day's experience evinced, that the people thus fortunately situated were, unluckily, some of the most profligate wretches in the colony; and their distance from the immediate seat of government added much to the inconvenience. Such of these farms as were situated on the low grounds were often overflowed after very heavy falls of rain; but this circumstance was in no way injurious to the farmer, unless it happened when the grain was ripening.

Among other local arrangements which took place, and were extremely useful, must be reckoned the numbering of the houses of the towns of Sydney and Parramatta⁵, and dividing them into portions;

with a principal inhabitant at the head of each division, who was charged with the peace and good order of the district in which he lived.⁶

The frame of the Log Prison at Sydney was got up in the course of this month, to the great annoyance of the worthless, who seemed to anticipate the lodging in it which they merited.

At Parramatta and Toongabbie a very few old stacks of wheat belonging to government were opened for the purpose of being thrashed out, when they were found to have been much injured by vermine.

In the course of this month, Bennillong, who had returned to all the habits of savage life, claimed the protection of the governor from the menaces of several of his countrymen, who, he with much agitation informed him, had assembled in a considerable body near the Brick-fields*, to lie in wait for him; and where, if possible, they intended to kill him; he having, as they suspected, killed a man near Botany Bay. This he positively denied having done, and the governor dispatched him to the place, guarded by some of the military, where he explained to his countrymen that he had not killed the man in question, or any man; and that the soldiers were sent with him, to convince them that the governor would not suffer him, his old friend and fellow voyager (it must be remembered that Bennillong returned from England with the governor in His Majesty's ship *Reliance*), to be ill treated by them on any false pretence; and that he was determined to drive every native away from Sydney who should attempt it. This threat had a good effect. Many of them were much alarmed when they saw in what manner and by whom Bennillong was attended; and to be driven from a place whence they derived so many comforts, and so much shelter in bad weather, would have been severely felt by most of them.

In the first part of the month the weather was not very good; about the middle some showers fell very seasonably for the harvest; and towards the latter part the regular land and sea breezes had set in, which kept the weather cool and pleasant.

November.] The month of November opened with the arrival of the *Prince of Wales*, victualler, from England. She had been close in with Botany Bay the preceding day; but, there being little wind, the master had been obliged to stretch out from the land during the night; and the next morning, a pilot getting on board, she was brought in. She had sailed in company with the *Sylph*, which also had provisions for the settlement on board, but which did not arrive until the 17th. They brought the information, that a Dutch fleet, consisting of ten sail of ships of war, bound to the East Indies had been captured off the Cape of Good Hope, by His Majesty's fleet, under Admiral Sir

* Adjacent to the town of Sydney.

Geo. Keith Elphinstone (now Lord Keith), which had followed them from England.⁷

The useful regulation of numbering the different houses in the town of Sydney, particularly those in the occupation of the convicts, was followed up by another equally serviceable, which directed the inhabitants of each of the four divisions of the town (for into that number it was portioned off) to meet, and from among themselves elect three of the most decent and respectable characters, who were to be approved by the governor, and were to serve for the ensuing year as watchmen, for the purpose of enforcing a proper attention to the good order and tranquillity of their respective divisions. Many of the soldiers being allowed to occupy houses for their families in the vicinity of the barracks, the commanding officer was desired to appoint his own watchmen for the military division of the town, and to order them to report to him.

A few days previous to the arrival of the *Sylph*, the Colonial schooner returned from Norfolk Island, and brought letters from the *Reliance*, *Supply*, and *Britannia*, which ships left that island on the 25th of the last month, and the day following her arrival (the 14th) Richard Atkins, esq was directed to officiate as Judge Advocate of the colony, in the absence of the gentleman who had filled that situation since the first establishment of the settlement, and who had now proceeded to England in the *Britannia*.

This judicial appointment having taken place, a criminal court was held on the 23rd, and continued sitting, by adjournment, until the 29th, when sentence of death was passed upon eight prisoners who were capitally convicted; one, of the wilful murder of the man whose body had been found on the north shore the 16th of last month, and seven of robbing the public store-houses at Sydney, and the settlement at the Hawkesbury. Two others were found guilty of manslaughter.⁸

Of these miserable people five were executed pursuant to the sentence of the court. At Sydney*, Francis Morgan, for wilful murder, with Martin McEwen (a soldier) and John Lawler (a convict), for robbing the public stores. Matthew McNally and Thomas Doyle, convicts, suffered at Parramatta, on the following day, for the same offence.⁹

Having thus satisfied the public justice of the country, the governor extended the hand of mercy to the three others who had been capitally convicted of the same crime, viz John McDouall (another soldier), Thomas Inville, and Michael Doland (convicts), by granting them a conditional pardon.¹⁰

It was much to be lamented, that these people were not to be deterred by any example from the practice of robbing the public

* On the 30th of November, and the others on the 9th and 10th of December.

stores, which had of late been more frequent than heretofore, and for which there could not be admitted the shadow of an excuse; as the whole of the inhabitants of every description were at this very time on a full and liberal allowance of provisions and clothing, neither of which were in any scarcity in the settlement. But the cause was to be found in the too great indulgence in the use of spirituous liquors which had been obtained among them for a considerable time past. The different capital crimes which had lately been brought before the court of criminal judicature, together with the various petty offences that daily came under the cognisance of the magistrates, did not proceed from an insufficiency either of food or clothing; but from an inordinate desire of possessing, by any means whatsoever, those articles with which they might be able to procure spirits, 'that source—as the governor expressed himself in an order which he published directly after these executions—that source of the misfortunes of all those whom the laws of their country, and the justice that was due to others, had launched into eternity, surrounded with the crimes of an ill-spent life.'¹¹

The court having ordered that Francis Morgan should be hung in chains upon the small island which is situated in the middle of the harbour, and named by the natives Mat-te-wan-ye¹², a gibbet was accordingly erected, and he was hung there, exhibiting an object of much greater terror to the natives, than to the white people, many of whom were more inclined to make a jest of it; but to the natives his appearance was so frightful—his clothes shaking in the wind, and the creaking of his irons, added to their superstitious ideas of ghosts (for these children of ignorance imagined that, like a ghost, this man might have the power of taking hold of them by the throat), all rendering him such an alarming object to them—that they never trusted themselves near him, nor the spot on which he hung; which, until this time, had ever been with them a favourite place of resort.

The *Prince of Wales*, having been cleared of her cargo, sailed on the 23rd for China. Previous to her departure, the master having complained of the conduct of his ship's company, the governor appointed a day for their appearing before him; when the differences which subsisted between them were inquired into by his excellency, and settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

The public works in which the people at Sydney had been employed during this month, consisted in receiving the cargoes of the two victuallers, and in clearing out the tanks or reservoirs for water, which had become a necessary work, as they never had been emptied or cleansed since they were first cut and filled in the year 1792.*

December.] On the 6th of December the *Sylph*, having been dis-

* The principal tank contained about 7996 gallons of water. Vide Vol I, p. 178.

charged from government employ, proceeded on her voyage to China. On searching her, two male convicts were found concealed, who were brought on shore, and punished for their attempt to escape from the place of their transportation.

The ill success with which these attempts were attended might have been expected to deter others from risking the certain punishment which followed their being detected; but, as some were known to have eluded the strictest search, every one who could find a friend among the seamen to conceal him, hoped that he might prove the fortunate one who should escape. Although they every day saw that no obstacle was thrown in the way of the convict who had got through the period of his transportation with credit and a good character, but that he was suffered to depart with the master of any ship who would receive him, and a certificate given to him of his being a free man; yet, thoughtless, and dissatisfied with their present situation, be it what it might, they preferred encountering the hazard of being discovered and punished, or, even if they reached another country, the discredit with which they must appear, if it should be known that they were convicts from 'Botany Bay,' to waiting with patience until they could be dismissed from the colony with the reputation of having deserved the state of freedom at which they had arrived.

On the 16th of the month, a general muster of all descriptions of persons took place over every part of the colony at the same hour; for it had been found, that in mustering one district at a time, a deception had been successfully practised by some, of running from one place to another, and answering to their names at each, thereby drawing provisions from both stores, having previously imposed themselves on the storekeepers as belonging to their district. This could not, indeed, have long continued, if the storekeepers had been properly attentive to the directions which they received; but it was almost impossible to guard against the artful and well-contrived deceptions which these people were constantly playing off, to impose upon propriety, regulation, and good order.

It being at this time much wished to get four or five hundred acres of the ground belonging to government in a state to be sown the next season with wheat, the governor went up to Parramatta, to settle some necessary concerns there, and to endeavour, if possible, to get strength sufficient for that purpose.¹³ While here, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the stock of large cattle belonging to government were in excellent condition, having been sent to Toongabbie, where they had met with better food and more care than elsewhere. The preservation of these animals was an object of the greatest importance, as, independent of the large sums of money with which they had been purchased, their utility as a stock both for present labour, and future consumption, was incalculable.

Several of the settlers having last year had occasion, from the failure of the preceding crop, to borrow seed for sowing their ground again with wheat, an order was issued on the 21st, reminding those settlers who had received this assistance from government, that it was expected they would, out of their first crops, pay this debt, and take up the receipts which they had given.¹⁴ That if any evasion should be attempted, or any delay made in the payment, such steps as the law pointed out would be taken against them, and the defaulters marked as undeserving of the aid of government on any future occasion; and, what was calculated to meet a trick which some of them had played, they were finally informed, that if any among them, in contemplation of getting rid of the debt, had sold their farms since receiving the grain from government, the land would still be considered as the debtor, and the purchaser responsible for the payment.

The savage inhabitants of the country, instead of losing any part of their native ferocity of manners by an intercourse with the Europeans among whom they dwelt, seemed rather to delight in exhibiting themselves as monsters of the greatest cruelty, devoid of reason, and guided solely by the impulse of the worst passions.

Toward the latter end of the month, the governor received information, that a little native girl, between six and seven years of age, who for some time had lived at the governor's house, had been most inhumanly murdered by two of her savage countrymen. The father and mother of this child belonged to a party of natives who had committed so many depredations upon the settlers at the Hawkesbury, attended with such acts of cruelty as to render them extremely formidable: insomuch that it became necessary to send an armed party in pursuit of them. They were soon found, and, being fired upon, the father and mother of this little female were among those who fell. She was with them at the time, and readily accompanied our people to the settlement, where she was received; and, being a well disposed child, soon became a great favourite with her protectors. This, and her being a native of the country near Broken Bay, excited the jealousy of some of the natives who lived at and about Sydney, which manifested itself in their putting her to death in the most cruel manner. The body was found in the woods near the governor's house, speared in several places, and with both the arms cut off; whence it was brought in and buried.

No other conjecture could be formed of this atrocious act than what has been already mentioned. As she belonged to a tribe of natives that was hostile to the Sydney people, they could not admit of her partaking in those pleasures and comforts which they derived from their residence among the colonists, and therefore inhumanly put her out of the way. The governor was very much incensed at this proceeding; and, could he have found the offenders, would have most severely punished them; but they had immediately withdrawn into the woods.

Among the public works in hand during this month must be mentioned, the laying of the last stone of the windmill tower at Sydney on the 21st; and on the following day the workmen began to get up the wood work of the top.

On the 24th there was a general issue of clothing, and the 26th was observed as Christmas Day.

The weather in the first and middle parts of the month had been very bad, heavy rains (which much retarded the getting in of the harvest) prevailing, with thunder and lightning, and winds strong at east. The latter part being moderate, the Colonial schooner took the opportunity to go round to the Hawkesbury for a cargo of wheat.

CHAPTER II

The Governor visits Richmond-Hill—His transactions there—A stack of wheat burnt—Sawyers punished—Price of labour regulated—General character of the settlers—The clergyman's attention to the children—Criminal court assembled—Lawrence Davoran—The Governor goes to Botany Bay—George's River—Public works—Lightning and its effects

THE governor, always anxious to promote the good of the settlement by every means in his power, having determined to visit at this season that part of it which was situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury, set off at the latter end of the last month, with a party of officers, by land to Broken Bay, where they got on board the Colonial schooner, and continued in her for two days, sailing up that pleasant river; but, finding her progress too slow, they quitted her for some boats which had accompanied them; and, by the first of this month, had reached as high up as some farms which had lately been evacuated in consequence of the depredations that the owners of them had been exposed to from numerous parties of natives. The ground hereabout was carefully examined, to see if it would admit such a number of settlers as might be sufficient for the purpose of mutual protection; but it was found inadequate to that end, the limits of it on the banks of the river, where the soil was excellent, being much too narrow.¹

On the first of the month the governor had reached the principal settlement, having occasionally landed to examine into the state of the different farms, as well as to settle disputes relative to property, and differences between the settlers and their hired servants.

Having had previous notice, a general muster of these people now took place; which being compared with one taken some time since, many impositions were detected and rectified. After the muster, they were reminded that several of them were considerably indebted to government for the seed from which their present abundant crops had been produced, and directed forthwith to return into the store a quantity equal to that which they had borrowed for the purpose. This it was absolutely necessary to point out and insist upon, as there were but few among them who would have been found with principle enough to have returned it of themselves.²

While they were here, the governor and his party went up the river, and ascended Richmond-hill, on the summit of which a large smoke was made at noon, at which time a similar smoke was made on Prospect-hill, that was very distinctly seen, and its bearings taken, to ascertain the relative situation of the two hills. This bearing, which

was S 35° 00' E by compass, gave, with the latitude observed on each, the distance between the two hills about eighteen miles in a direct line.

By this bearing, should there be occasion hereafter, a road through the woods, from the head of the Hawkesbury, might be cut in the shortest and most direct way to Parramatta.

At the head of this river, and upon the banks of that named the Nepean, there was known to be a tract of excellent land, as rich as any on the banks of the Hawkesbury which was then under cultivation, and where, at some future period, a settlement might be advantageously established.

The governor, on his return from this excursion, had the mortification of seeing a stack, containing about eight hundred bushels of wheat, burnt to the ground. This happened at Toongabbie, near which place the country was every where in flames, and where, unfortunately, much wheat belonging to government was stacked. The fire broke out about eight o'clock in the evening; the wind was high, the night extremely dark, and the flames had mounted to the very tops of the lofty woods which surrounded a field called the ninety acres, in which were several stacks of wheat. The appearance was alarming, and the noise occasioned by the high wind, and the crackling of the flames among the trees, contributed to render the scene truly awful.³

It became necessary to make every effort to save this field and its contents. The gaol-gang, who worked in irons; were called out, and told, that if the wheat was saved by their exertion, their chains should be knocked off. By providing every man with a large bush, to beat off the fire as it approached the grain over the stubble, keeping up this attention during the night, and the wind becoming moderate towards morning, the fire was fortunately kept off, and the promise to the gaol-gang was not forfeited.*

Although at this season of the year there were days when, from the extreme heat of the atmosphere, the leaves of many culinary plants growing in the gardens have been reduced to a powder, yet there was some ground for supposing that this accident did not arise from either the heat of the weather, or the fire in the woods. The grain that was burnt was the property of government, and the destruction of eight hundred bushels of wheat made room for that quantity to be received into the stores from the settlers who had wheat to sell to the commissary; there were, moreover, at this time, some ill-designing people in the country, who were known not to have much regard

* In the month of December 1792, two days after the wheat had been reaped and got off the ground at Toongabbie, the whole of the stubble was burnt, the country being then, as at this time, every where on fire. See Vol I. p. 217.

for the concerns of the public. An enquiry was set on foot to discover, if possible, the perpetrators of this mischief; but nothing could be made of it.

Several people who had been hired to saw timber on the public account having been detected in giving a false statement, and receiving payment for what they had not cut, were examined before two justices of the peace; when, the fraud being proved, they were sentenced to make up the deficiency, and to work for government, without being paid, for six months. One, the man who measured the work, and who of course had a confidence reposed in him, received the additional punishment of 200 lashes, which he amply merited.

Some representations having been made to the governor from the settlers in different parts of the colony, purporting that the wages demanded by the free labouring people, whom they had occasion to hire, was so exorbitant as to run away with the greatest part of the profit of their farms, it was recommended to them to appoint quarterly meetings among themselves, to be held in each district, for the purpose of settling the rate of wages to labourers in every different kind of work; that, to this end, a written agreement should be entered into and subscribed by each settler, a breach of which should be punished by a penalty, to be fixed by the general opinion, and made recoverable in a court of civil judicature. It was recommended to them to apply this forfeiture to the common benefit; and they were to transmit to the head-quarters a copy of their agreement with the rate of wages which they should from time to time establish, for the governor's information; holding their first meeting as early as possible.⁴

It must appear from this, that every necessary and useful regulation was suggested that could promote the convenience and advantage of these people, who being in possession of land that yielded the most ample returns, nothing but the greatest worthlessness on their part could have prevented their getting forward, and becoming men of property.⁵ That too many of them were of this description will appear evident, from its being notorious that their crops were no sooner gathered, than they were instantly disposed of for spirits, which they purchased at the rate of three, nay, even four pounds per gallon, and of a spirit often lowered one fourth or more of its strength with water. It was also equally notorious, that some of them, when too idle and dissipated to hoe and properly prepare their ground for seed, have carelessly thrown the grain over the old stubble, and afterwards chipped it in, as they termed it, going lightly over the ground with a hoe, and barely covering the seed. Yet, with no greater assistance than this, the lands thus slovenly prepared have been known to yield abundant crops.

On the 11th arrived the *Mercury*, an American brig, from Manilla, bound to the NW coast of America. Being extremely weak and leaky, the master put in here to refit, which he requested he might be allowed

to do. He brought no other news than the detention of several English ships at Manilla, which seemed strongly to indicate the approach of hostilities between the two nations, the effect, no doubt, of French fraternity with the Spaniards.⁶

The infant part of the settlement having at this period become very numerous, with a view to save them, if possible, from that ruin in which the infamous examples of their abandoned parents were but too likely to plunge them, the clergyman, the Reverend Mr. Johnson, began to examine them publicly every Sunday in their catechism, and other points of religious duty, at the conclusion of the afternoon service. Some building that might serve as a school whereto children at a certain age might be removed from their parents, and receive education, was now become absolutely necessary; but many other works equally necessary were still in hand; and the labourers employed to erect them were comparatively so inefficient, that it was impossible to think of any other work until they were completed, though both the clergymen offered their services to superintend the erection of a building for this purpose.⁷

Such was the weakness of the public gangs, that it often became necessary to require the assistance of the officers and other persons who were allowed servants from government. In this way, by calling on each officer and settler to send in a certain number of men for three days in the week, the public roads between the different districts were put into good order. This, besides very much facilitating the carriage of goods by land, conduced very essentially to the detecting of thieves and vagrants, who in general were found to be very quick in their motions.

Among other crimes which had been committed in this colony, that of forgery was by no means neglected. To this, the currency of the settlement, consisting almost entirely of paper, had opened a door. On the 20th one man was found guilty of uttering a bill, knowing it to be forged, and condemned to suffer death. The prisoner, whose name was Lawrence Davoran, had been sent from Ireland, with other convicts from that kingdom, where he had practised as an attorney, and had, it was said (unfortunately for them, if true) respectable connections by marriage.⁸ He was very far from being a good character. The governor, however, after ordering the execution to take place on a certain day, spared his life, on condition of his being transported to Norfolk Island during the remainder of his wretched existence.

After celebrating the day on which her majesty's birth was observed with every demonstration of attachment and respect in his power, the governor set off on an excursion to Botany Bay, in order to explore George's river as far up as was practicable, and to examine the soil upon its banks, which he found to be of good quality, and considerable extent. This river, which was observed to run in a westerly

direction about twenty-five miles up from Botany Bay, was, in many parts of its branches, exceedingly picturesque; and navigable, for small craft, for at least twenty miles up. Some of its creeks or branches reached within a small distance of Prospect Hill. Between this river and Parramatta, the governor, on his return, travelled through a thick bushy wood, covering an excellent soil.

Erecting the granary, completing the windmill, and repairing the public roads, formed the principal works in hand during this month, in which the weather had been most uncomfortably hot, accompanied with some severe thunder storms; in one of which both the flag-staff at the South Head, and that at the entrance of the Cove, on Point Maskelyne, were shivered to pieces by the lightning. The vast blazes of fire which were seen in every direction, and which were freshened by every blast of wind, added much to the suffocating heat that prevailed.

CHAPTER III

The windmill tried—A civil court assembled—Difficulty respecting the convicts from Ireland—The natives—Some buildings begun—Weather—March—Number of men not victualled by the commissary, who had been convicts—An extraordinary theft—Court of criminal judicature twice held—One man suffers death—Price of labour fixed—The natives attack the settlers—Public works—Weather

THE wind-mill being nearly finished at the commencement of this month, it was tried with only two of its sails; when it ground, with one pair of stones, a bushel of wheat in ten minutes, and, considering the immense weight of the wood-work, its motion was found to be easy and convenient.

It might not have been expected, that occasions for convening the court of civil judicature could frequently have occurred in an infant settlement such as this; or that, when assembled, it could have had business to occupy it above a day; yet one of these courts assembled on the first, and continued sitting by adjournments until the fourteenth, for the decision of many civil concerns. Among these was the recovery of debts, several of which had been contracted very improperly, and which were likely to involve many in ruin.¹

It appeared, that, to obtain spirituous liquors, these people, the settlers, had incurred debts to so great an amount, as to preclude the most distant hope of liquidating them, except by selling their farms. Thus all their former industry must be sacrificed to discharge debts which were contracted for the temporary gratification of being steeped in beastly intoxication for a certain length of time. All the cautions which had occasionally been inserted in the public orders against this dangerous practice, had not proved of any advantage to those whose benefit they were intended to promote; and it was observed with concern, that several scenes of shameful imposition, which had been practised by the retail dealers in this article, were brought to light by this investigation.

Several convicts, who had served their respective terms of transportation, having applied to be discharged from the victualling books of the colony, and allowed to provide for themselves, it was determined, that once during a given time certificates of their having so served their several sentences should be granted to them, together with the permission which they solicited. There was not any difficulty in ascertaining the term of the convicts sent from England, as correct lists of their several sentences from the Secretary of State's office accompanied them: but it

was not so with those who had been sent from Ireland, and who were more likely to be dissatisfied with any disappointment on this rather nice subject, than any other people in the settlement. This was an evil of some magnitude; and a representation of it had been made to the government of that kingdom, but as yet no answer had been received.²

The season for cropping the ground being near at hand, the settlers were informed, that such of them as had lent their men to repair the roads would have them returned for the time that would be required to sow the grain; after that was performed, they were expected again to come forward, and finish what they had so well begun.

The natives excited some little degree of curiosity about this time, a large party from Broken Bay having assembled in the lower part of the harbour, whither those belonging to Sydney immediately repaired, for the purpose, it was reported, of meeting them in fight; but it turned out to be nothing more than the usual ceremony which a native of Broken Bay underwent, of having several spears thrown at him, for having, it was said, killed a person belonging to this part of the country. He went off unhurt, after sustaining the appearance of much rage and violence from the friends of the deceased.

A gang having been for some time employed in making bricks, the foundation of a building for two assistant surgeons was marked in this month. This was one of the necessary works already mentioned, as the miserable quarters which those gentlemen occupied were originally constructed only of split cabbage trees, and were at this time quite decayed.

Some heavy rain fell during the first and latter parts of the month, which it was hoped would extinguish the still glowing embers of the vast fires which had surrounded the place, and which, being scattered over the country every dry and windy day; occasioned new and dreadful conflagrations.

There were not any arrivals during the month, except that of the Colonial schooner from the Hawkesbury, with a cargo of Indian corn, and some wheat that had been damaged by the weevil, an enemy which had been imported among the rice from India.

March.] It appeared by the books in which were entered the certificates granted to the convicts who had again become free people³, that there were at this time not less than 600 men off the store and working for themselves in the colony; forming a vast deduction of labouring people from the public strength, and adding a great many chances against the safety of private and public property, as well as personal security.

An extraordinary theft was committed about the middle of the month, which very forcibly marked the inherent depravity of some of these miscreants. While the miller was absent for a short time, part of the sails belonging to the mill were stolen. Now this machine was

at work for the benefit of those very incorrigible vagabonds who had thus, for a time, prevented its being of use to any one, and who, being too lazy to grind for themselves, had formerly been obliged to pay one third of their whole allowance of wheat, to have the remainder ground for them by handmills, an expense that was saved to them by bringing their corn to the public mill.

Twice during this month it became necessary to assemble the court of criminal judicature: at one of which, a man named Mobbs was capitally convicted of robbing the public stores, upon the evidence of an accomplice, who was admitted on the part of the crown. They had stolen at different times an incredible quantity of clothing, provisions, and various other articles, and ought to have been much sooner detected. Mobbs suffered death, and exhibited himself at the gallows as a wicked and hardened offender.⁴

For offenders not deserving of capital punishment, Norfolk Island had been for some time a place of banishment; and the convicts in general felt this second transportation more severely than the first: notwithstanding which, they continued to commit offences that they knew must end in that punishment. Four prisoners, one of them a soldier, were at this time sentenced to seven years exile to that island, for different offences; and when viewed in this light, as a place of confinement for some of her worst members, Norfolk Island might be considered as an useful appendage to the principal settlement.⁵

In pursuance of the order which was issued in January last, recommending the settlers to appoint meetings, at which they should fix the rate of wages that it might be proper to pay for the different kinds of labour which their farms should require, the settlers had met, and submitted to the governor the several resolutions that they had entered into; by which he was enabled to fix a rate that he conceived to be fair and equitable between the farmer and the labourer.

The following prices of labour were now established, viz⁶

| | £ | s | d |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---|----|---|
| Felling forest timber, <i>per acre</i> | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Do. in brush ground, do | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Burning off open ground, do | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Do. brush ground, do | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Breaking up new ground, do | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Chipping fresh ground, do | 0 | 12 | 3 |
| Chipping in wheat, do | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Breaking up stubble or corn ground, 1¼d. per rod, or do | 0 | 16 | 8 |
| Planting Indian Corn, do | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Hilling, do | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Reaping wheat, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Threshing do per bushel, do | 0 | 0 | 9 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----|---|----|
| Pulling and husking Indian corn, per bushel | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Splitting paling of seven feet long, per hundred | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Do of five feet long do | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Sawing plank, do | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Ditching per rod, three feet wide and three feet deep | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Carriage of wheat, per bushel, per mile | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Do Indian corn, neat | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Yearly wages for labour, with board | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Wages per week, with provisions, consisting of | | | |
| 4 lib. of salt pork or 6 lib. of fresh, and 21 | | | |
| lib. of wheat, with vegetables | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| A day's wages, with board | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Do without board | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A government man allowed to officers or settlers | | | |
| in their own time | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Price of an axe | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| New steeling do | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| A new hoe | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| A sickle | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Hire of a boat to carry grain, per day | 0 | 5 | 0 |

The settlers were reminded, that, in order to prevent any kind of dispute between the master and servant, when they should have occasion to hire a man for any length of time, they would find it most convenient to engage him for a quarter, half year, or year, and to make their agreement in writing; on which should any dispute arise, an appeal to the magistrates would settle it.

A person, who absconding from his work had been ordered to labour a certain time in irons, having wrought upon the feelings of one of the magistrates to permit his working without them, and having given strong assurance of future diligence, was no sooner freed from his incumbrances than he took to the woods again. The frequent and unrestrained passing and repassing of idle and disorderly people from one part of the colony to another, and the mischievous correspondence which was kept up by such means, was productive of great evil. To check this as much as possible, all persons, the officers excepted, who were travelling from one district of the settlement to another, were required to furnish themselves with a passport, which, on a proper application, they would obtain without any difficulty.⁷ This was to be shown to and inspected by the constables in each district; and if found without it they were to be imprisoned during a month for the first offence, and otherwise punished if it was repeated. But the best local arrangements were set at defiance by those hardened vagabonds, who seemed daily to increase in number and in infamy.

While the governor was endeavouring to guard against the injuries

that might be done by these people, the settlers found themselves obliged to assemble for the purpose of repelling the attacks made upon them by the natives. The people at the northern farms⁸ had been repeatedly plundered of their provisions and clothing by a large body of savages, who had also recently killed a man and a woman. Exasperated at such cruel and wanton conduct, they armed themselves, and, after pursuing them a whole night, at sun-rise in the morning came up with a party of more than a hundred, who fled immediately on discovering that their pursuers were armed, leaving behind them a quantity of Indian corn, some musket balls, and other things of which the soldiers had been plundered. They continued to follow, and traced them as far as the outskirts of Parramatta. Being fatigued with their march, they entered the town, and in about an hour after were followed by a large body of natives, headed by Pe-mul-wy, a riotous and troublesome savage. These were known by the settlers to be the same who had so frequently annoyed them; and they intended, if possible, to seize upon Pe-mul-wy; who, in a great rage, threatened to spear the first man that dared to approach him, and actually did throw a spear at one of the soldiers. The conflict was now begun; a musket was immediately levelled at the principal, which severely wounded him. Many spears were then thrown, and one man was hit in the arm; upon which the superior effect of our fire-arms was immediately shown them, and five were instantly killed.

However unpleasant it was to the governor, that the lives of so many of these people should have been taken, no other course could possibly be pursued; for it was their custom, when they found themselves more numerous and better armed than the white people, to demand with insolence whatever they wanted; and, if refused, to have recourse to murder. This check, it was hoped, would have a good effect; and Pe-mul-wy, who had received seven buck shot in his head and different parts of his body, was taken extremely ill to the hospital. This man was first known in the settlement by the murder of* John McIntire in the year 1790; since which he had been a most active enemy to the settlers, plundering them of their property, and endangering their personal safety.

The people belonging to the crown were employed during this month in the following several works: At Toongabbie, upwards of 100 men were occupied in agriculture—a wind-mill was to be erected at Parramatta, where stone-masons and carpenters were preparing the materials. At Sydney, a gang was employed in making bricks, where also were completing a large granary and a strong log-prison. All the public brick buildings were likewise undergoing a repair, being crumbling into ruins; such as the barracks for the military, store-houses, officers'

* Vide Vol I page 118.

dwelling and others. Some people were also repairing the boats belonging to government; and bricks were brought in for the barracks of the assistant surgeons (this part of the public labour was performed by a team of oxen). A new flag-staff was prepared and erected at the South Head during this month, the weather of which had for the greater part been very wet.

CHAPTER IV

Report revived of a white woman being with the natives—A shoal seen—Some civil regulations—Natives troublesome—The Governor goes on an excursion—Particulars thereof—A valuable tree discovered—Weather—May—The natives burn a house—Consequences—The Supply arrives from the Cape—A ship wrecked to the southward—Three of her people brought in by a fishing boat—Particulars—Two accidents—The Britannia arrives from England—Vessels and assistance sent to the wreck—Public works—Cordage wanted—The Mercury sails—June—The Ganges arrives from Ireland—Transactions—Some runaways taken and brought to trial—The Reliance arrives from the Cape—A strange desertion—Public works—New gaol finished

SOME reports being again circulated, respecting the situation of Mary Morgan, the woman said to be detained among the natives to the northward of Broken Bay, a boat, with some people who had volunteered the service, was sent to the north part of that harbour where it was said she had been lately seen with some of her black friends. The people were directed, if possible, to bring her away, unless she preferred the life that she now led; upon which more than three years' experience of it would certainly enable her to decide. They were absent about 10 days, and returned without success, not even having heard any thing of her.* They went into the north arm of Broken Bay, and travelled to the northward as far as Cape Three Points²; between which and the north head of Broken Bay, is a lagoon within the sea beach, of about twenty miles in length, and running parallel with the sea coast.

A decked long boat, having been sent from Sydney to Norfolk Island, in her passage thither fell in with a considerable shoal bearing from ENE to WNW distant from the vessel one mile. It extended to the northward as far as the eye could discern from the mast-head, the rocks in many places appearing above the water. The south end of the shoal is in the latitude of 29° 52' south, and the longitude of 160° 13' east, bearing from Lord Howe Island, which they had seen the day before, north 27° 40' east, distant 39 leagues. This was supposed to be the same shoal that had been formerly seen by Lieutenant

* Nor indeed could they very well; for at the time when this search was making after her in New South Wales she was leading a life in London, which she most certainly preferred to the society of either the black or white people in that country. She was taken from the settlement by Locke, the master of the *Resolution*, in the year 1794. Vide Vol I p. 332 and 406.¹

Shortland* in the *Alexander*, and by the master of the *Golden Grove* transport in the year 1786.³

In the beginning of this month, the settlers at the Hawkesbury sent round some grain, in part payment of the debts which were due from them to government for the seed which had been lent them last year to crop their grounds.

In consequence of complaints which were laid before the governor, relative to some exorbitant demands made by the public bakers upon those who had occasion to employ them, and of the impositions practised as well in the quality as in the quantity of the bread returned in lieu of the flour or grain delivered to them, the judge-advocate and two other magistrates were directed to hold a meeting for the purpose of enquiring into the business, as well as for examining and regulating the weights and measures which were at present in use in the colony.⁴ An order was at the same time issued, recommending to the settlers of every district, that, as much pains had been taken to establish, agreeably to their wishes, the rate of wages to be paid for all kinds of labour, they should now attend strictly to this regulation, and no longer suffer themselves to be imposed upon. There were strong reasons for suspecting that, notwithstanding the bond which they had entered into, rigidly to adhere to the regulations which had been established for their benefit, some among them were so very deficient of even honest principles as to attempt by various means to evade the regulation, to the great injury of other more industrious and more deserving men. In order the more readily to detect a practice so shameful and iniquitous, the governor judged it requisite to hold out a reward to those who would come forward and give such information as should be sufficient to prove the offence, by offering one-third of the sum forfeited to the informer. The settlers were also called upon to give information of any labouring man who, on offering himself for hire, should refuse to accept the regulated wages. As such person must be incapable of living in this country without work, he was immediately to be apprehended as a vagrant, who, having no visible means of providing honestly for his support, must have recourse to robbery.⁵

The natives at the Hawkesbury were at this time very troublesome, burning a dwelling-house and a stack of wheat belonging to a settler there, after having plundered him of all his other possessions.

On the 21st, as much wheat as the public granaries at Sydney, Parramatta, and the Hawkesbury could contain, having been received, they were closed until the month of August next.

Towards the latter end of the month, the governor, accompanied by some gentlemen of the settlement, set off from Parramatta, on an excursion, in which he meant to obtain some knowledge of the

* Vide Vol I p. 55.

ground between Duck river⁶ and George's river, with respect both to its quality and quantity. This tract was walked over, and much excellent land was found well provided with fresh water in chains of large deep ponds. On this ground some of the marine soldiers, who had enlisted for three years in the New South Wales corps, having completed their service, were desirous of being settled.⁷

This party, on their arrival at the banks of George's river, whither a boat had been previously sent with some provisions and a tent, found that at low water it was as fresh as that in the Hawkesbury, where the settlement stood.

Having proceeded down the river, they stopped at a point near Botany Bay, where they met with several parties of natives, among whom was Pe-mul-wy, who, having perfectly recovered from his wounds, had escaped from the hospital with an iron about his leg. He saw and spoke with one of the gentlemen of the party; enquiring of him whether the governor was angry, and seemed pleased at being told that he was not: notwithstanding which, there could be but little doubt that his savage brutal disposition would manifest itself whenever excited by the appearance of an unarmed man.

Some time in this month a tree was for the first time observed growing on the banks of the Hawkesbury, the bark of which, when soaked in water, and beaten, was found to be as good as hemp for cordage, spinning easily, and being remarkably strong. The tree grew from 50 to 70 feet high; its diameter was from the smallest size to a foot, and it appeared to be of quick growth.⁸ This was rather a fortunate discovery; for every kind of cordage belonging to the settlement was almost wholly expended.

The court of criminal judicature was assembled once in this month, and three persons who had served their period of transportation were a second time transported; one for 14 years, for receiving stolen goods knowing them to be such; and two others for seven years. These two last were vagabonds who had taken up their abode in the woods, where they lived at the expense of the industrious, by committing every kind of depredation on their property.⁹

The public works continued the same as at the end of the last month. The foundation of the building for the reception of the assistant surgeons was laid, and the lower floor of the large granary at Sydney was nearly completed.

Much rain fell during this month. On the morning of the 27th, a heavy squall of wind came on, which, for want of proper care and attention on the part of those employed at the wind-mill, set it going in such a violent manner, that while flying round with great velocity, one of the running stones was broken to pieces; one of which so severely wounded Davis the millwright in the head, that his life was despaired of. A gang of carpenters was immediately ordered to

repair the damage it had sustained, and in a few days it was again at work.

May.] Notwithstanding the example which had lately been made of the natives, they were exceedingly troublesome to the settlers in Lane Cove, burning a house and killing some hogs belonging to one of them. This was certainly committing a wanton injury; for neither the burnt house, nor the slaughtered animals, which they left on the spot, could be of any benefit to them. At Kissing Point, another district, they dangerously wounded a settler and his wife, first burning every article belonging to them. The settlers in Lane Cove were so much and so perpetually alarmed by these people, that they collected their whole force, and, a few soldiers being sent to their assistance, went out in the night; and, being directed by their fires to the place where they lay, they discovered a large body of natives, collected, no doubt, for the purpose of attacking and plundering the settlers. Being unwilling to take any of their lives, a volley of musketry was fired over their heads, which so alarmed and terrified them, that they instantly fled, leaving behind them their spears, etc and about 20 bushels of Indian corn which they had stolen.

It was distressing to observe, that every endeavour to civilise these people proved fruitless. Although they lived among the inhabitants of the different settlements, were kindly treated, fed, and often clothed, yet they were never found to possess the smallest degree of gratitude for such favours. Even Bennillong was as destitute of this quality as the most ignorant of his countrymen. It is an extraordinary fact, that even their children, who had been bred up among the white people, and who, from being accustomed to follow their manner of living, might have been supposed to ill relish the life of their parents, when grown up, have quitted their comfortable abodes, females as well as males, and taken to the same savage mode of living, where the supply of food was often precarious, their comforts not to be called such, and their lives perpetually in danger. As a proof of the little personal safety which they enjoyed, a young woman, the wife of a man named Ye-ra-ni-be, both of whom had been brought up in the settlement from their childhood, was cruelly murdered at the brick-fields by her husband, assisted by another native, Cole-be, who first beat her dreadfully about the head (the common mode of chastising their women), and then put an end to her existence by driving a spear through her heart.

When spoken to or censured for robbing the maize-grounds, these people, to be revenged, were accustomed to assemble in large bodies, burn the houses of the settlers if they stood in lonely situations, and frequently attempted to take their lives; yet they were seldom refused a little corn when they would ask for it. It was imagined that they were stimulated to this destructive conduct by some run-away convicts

who were known to be among them at the time of their committing these depredations. In order to get possession of these pests, a proclamation was issued, calling on them by name to surrender themselves within 14 days, declaring them outlaws if they refused, and requiring the inhabitants, as they valued the peace and good order of the settlement, and their own security, to assist in apprehending and bringing them to justice.¹⁰ The governor also signified his determination, if any of the natives could be detected in the act of robbing the settlers, to hang one of them in chains upon a tree near the spot as a terror to the others. Could it have been foreseen, that this was their natural temper, it would have been wiser to have kept them at a distance, and in fear, which might have been effected without so much of the severity which their conduct had sometimes compelled him to exercise towards them. But the kindness which had been shown them, and the familiar intercourse with the white people in which they had been indulged, tended only to make them acquainted with those concerns in which they were the most vulnerable, and brought on all the evils which they suffered from them.

In the evening of the 16th, his Majesty's ship *Supply* arrived from the Cape of Good Hope; from which place she sailed about the middle of last month, with a quantity of young cattle on board for the settlement. She had met with much bad weather on her passage, and, being exceedingly infirm, her pumps had been kept constantly at work. She landed 31 cows, five mares, and 27 ewe sheep, all of them in good health, though much weakened from the nature of their voyage: eight cows, two bulls, and 13 sheep had died.

During the night of this day, a boat which had been fishing at a small distance to the southward of Botany Bay, brought up to the settlement three persons, late belonging to a ship called the *Sydney Cove*, which had sailed from Bengal with a cargo for this port upon speculation.¹¹ The governor was informed by Mr. Clarke, the supercargo (one of the three who had arrived in the fishing boat), that the ship had sprung a dangerous leak before she had rounded the South Cape, which, as soon as they had got to the eastward of the southern part of the coast, increased to so great a degree as to render it absolutely necessary to haul in for the land. The wind being from the SE they were enabled to accomplish this, and reached it exactly in time to land the ship, when she was just dropping from under them, having actually sunk down to the fore channels, when they ran her upon the ground, which they did on an island in lat. 40° 37' south.¹² They met with this misfortune in the middle of last February; soon after which a certain number of them resolved to attempt the reaching Port Jackson in the ship's long boat, leaving the commander and about thirty people to stay by the wreck. The boat being prepared, 17 people embarked in her, and sailed; but meeting with much bad weather

they were again wrecked, being driven on shore on the coast near Point Hicks. Here they all landed, and endeavoured to travel northward, but dropped off one by one and lost each other daily, until the number was reduced to five, the three who had arrived (the supercargo, a sailor, and a Lascar), the first mate of the ship, who had undertaken the navigation of the long boat, and the carpenter. These two, from excessive fatigue, had been unable to proceed any further, and had stopped the day before their companions in this miserable journey had been taken up by the fishing boat.¹³

To look for these unfortunate people, a whale boat was dispatched the following day, properly provided with such comforts as were necessary for persons in their weak and wretched condition. The man who had met with the supercargo was sent in the whale boat, and they proceeded to the spot which Mr. Clarke had described as that where they had lost sight of their companions; but, after a long search, they could only find some trifling articles, which were known to have been in their possession; and, these being bloody, it was conjectured that they had been killed in this very helpless condition by the natives, whom, in the course of their long march, they had found frequently very kind, and at other times extremely savage. To add to the probability of this having been their end, Mr. Clarke mentioned the morose, unfeeling disposition of the carpenter, who often, when some friendly natives had presented him with a few fish, growled that they had not given him all, and insisted, that because they were black fellows, it would be right to take it by force. By some illiberal and intemperate act of this nature, there was too much reason to believe he had brought on himself and his ill-fated companion, the mate (a man cast in a gentler mould), a painful and premature death.

Mr. Clarke and the two other people who arrived with him were very much exhausted, and could not probably have borne up much longer against the toil that attends travelling in such a country as the unsettled part of New Holland every where presents. All possible attention, however, being paid to their situation, they quickly recovered their strength and spirits.

In the account already published of this colony, several instances were given of the danger and difficulty that attended travelling through the woods, in which many people have either wandered till they died, or have been assassinated by the natives. Every caution that humanity could suggest had been given; yet even at this day an instance occurred that proved to how little purpose. A soldier who had taken his passage in a boat to go to the Hawkesbury prevailed on the crew to land him on the south shore of Broken Bay, intending to proceed to the settlement by land, but which he was never able to accomplish. Several parties of soldiers were sent to look after their comrade, but all returned without finding him. His end must have been truly deplorable; and

not less so was that of the sergeant-major's daughter, a fine girl of about 10 years of age, who was burnt to death by a stubble field having taken fire while she was in the midst of it. The flames were so rapid, that she was totally unable to escape from them, and perished in this most extraordinary and terrible manner.¹⁴

In the evening of the 27th, the ship *Britannia* anchored between the heads from Ireland, having on board 150 male and 50 female convicts from that kingdom, with an officer¹⁵ and 25 recruits for the New South Wales corps.¹⁶ She got up to the settlement the following day, and the prisoners were all landed on the 30th. A part of them were immediately sent up to Parramatta.

On the same day the Colonial schooner, and a long-boat named the *Eliza*, sailed to the southward, to bring away the remainder of the ship's company belonging to the unfortunate *Sydney Cove*.

Among other works in which the people were employed in this month, was the necessary one of erecting paling round the new gaol, now nearly completed, and round the fresh water, the original enclosure of which had gone to decay, by which means the stream was so exceedingly polluted, as to endanger the health of the inhabitants. Some necessary regulations were published to counteract this evil, and indeed they had long been loudly called for.

The want of cordage has been already mentioned. The settlement was likewise so much distressed for canvas, that, the largest and best boat being in the Hawkesbury, it became necessary to dismantle another boat, in order to furnish sails to bring her round; those belonging to her having been split in some bad weather which she met with in her passage thither. The people were directed at the same time to procure some of the bark of the tree lately discovered, to be manufactured into cordage; for which purpose it was reckoned superior to any of the flax that had been brought from Norfolk Island.

The *Mercury* sailed about the middle of the month; and, as some return for the liberty of refitting his ship, and remaining four months in the Cove, the master took away a female convict without the governor's permission.

Very little rain fell during this month.

June.] On the 2nd of June, the ship *Ganges* arrived from Ireland, with convicts from that kingdom, and a detachment of recruits for the New South Wales corps. This ship had touched at the Cape of Good Hope, and was commanded by Mr. Patrickson, who had visited the settlement in the year 1792, in the *Philadelphia*, a small American brig. The convicts in this ship were observed to be in much better health than those on board of the *Britannia*. These people, indeed, complained so much of having been treated with great severity during the passage, that the governor thought it right to institute an enquiry into their complaints. It appeared, that they had been deserving of

punishment, but that it had been administered with too much severity, in the opinion even of the surgeon who was present. As these punishments had been inflicted by the direction of the master, without consulting any of the officers on board as to the measure of them, he was highly censured, as was the surgeon, who could stand by and see them inflicted without remonstrating with the master, which he declined because he had not been consulted by him.

'Quis talia fando, temperet a lachrymis?'¹⁷

His Majesty's birthday, falling this year on a Sunday, was observed on the 5th, with all the honour that could be paid to it. The regiment was drawn out on the parade, and at noon fired three volleys. At one o'clock a royal salute was fired from the battery and the ships in the Cove; and all the officers, civil and military, with those belonging to the ships, spent the day at the government-house.

Shortly after this the governor visited the settlement at Parramatta, for the purpose of examining that part of the country which he designed to cultivate on the public account¹⁸; and to observe how the convicts who had lately arrived, the major part of whom had been sent thither, were provided for. The cattle which had been landed from the *Supply* had been also sent thither, and were, with the government stock that was at Toongabbie, thriving exceedingly.

The ground that it was proposed to clear on the public account was not more than two miles and a half from Parramatta, and most advantageously situated in point of fresh water, having a chain of large and excellent ponds in its vicinity. The deputy surveyor having accompanied the governor, the spot was marked out for erecting the necessary buildings; and the whole was named Portland Place, in honour of his Grace the Duke of Portland.¹⁹

In consequence of the proclamation which was issued in the last month, one of the run-away convicts delivered himself up to a constable, and another was taken and lodged in confinement: they appeared to be half starved; yet their sufferings were not sufficient to prevent similar desertions from work in others, nor a repetition of the offence in themselves; such was the strong aversion which these worthless characters had to any thing that bore the name of work. More labour would have been performed in this country by 100 people from any part of England or Scotland, than had at any time been derived from 300 of these people, with all the attention that could be paid to them. Had 200 families of decent labouring farmers been sent out as settlers a few years since, and had a few convicts to assist them been placed wholly under their direction and authority, the cultivation would have been much farther advanced; and, in point of provisions, those families would have been living in luxury. More grain than could be consumed

would have been grown, instead of crops which in some years were barely sufficient to last until the following harvest.²⁰

These people were brought to trial for a theft which they were stated to have committed, but of which there was not any positive proof, and they were acquitted. There was not any doubt of their having associated with and instructed the natives how to commit, with the least hazard to themselves, the various depredations which the settlers had sustained from them; yet there was no proof of this, at least no proof whereby they might have been capitally punished, nothing short of which would ever be sufficient to prevent this dangerous intercourse.

After exciting some apprehensions for her safety, his Majesty's ship the *Reliance* anchored in the Cove on the 26th, from the Cape of Good Hope, having had a very stormy passage, with 26 cows, 3 bulls, and about 60 sheep on board, on government account. She had been extremely leaky all the voyage; and it must be remembered, that the other colonial ship, the *Supply*, arrived in a very infirm state.*

A most unexpected and unaccountable desertion took place in the night after the arrival of the *Reliance*. Two boys belonging to that ship carried away a small two-oared boat, in which they intended to proceed to the southward, and there join the natives. Being pursued, they were brought back, and gave the above account of their scheme; to effect which, they had provided themselves with a boat-cloak to sleep in, a pair of pistols, a small quantity of gun-powder, and 50 cakes of portable soup. That any one who had been accustomed to the habits of civilised life should find charms in that led by the savages of this country, was unaccountable; for, admitting that idleness was the inducement, yet whoever associated with them must accompany them wherever they went, and they were generally on the move either by day or night. They were seldom provided with more food than was sufficient for the day; and in their treacherous visitations at night, for the purposes of revenge, the European might be easily mistaken for, or confounded with, the savage. But thus it was, to the great evil of the community to which these unthinking wretches belonged.

The inhabitants of the town of Sydney having been assessed to supply thatch for the roof of the new gaol, and completed their respective proportions, the building was enclosed during this month with a strong and high fence. A building such as this had certainly been long wanted. It was 80 feet in length; the sides and ends were constructed of strong

* At her departure from the Cape, it was generally conjectured that she would never reach the settlement; but her commander, Lieutenant William Kent, considered and felt the design of his voyage to be of so much importance to the colony, that he determined to run every risk; and fortunately, though with great difficulty, he succeeded.

logs, a double row of which formed each partition. The whole was divided into 22 cells, the divisions of which were logs. The floor and the roof were of the same solid materials, over which was a coat 8 inches deep of stiff clay, and the roof besides was thatched. Every accommodation for prisoners was to be found in separate buildings in the prison yard, in which also was a distinct brick building for debtors, fenced off from the *felon side* (to use an Old Bailey distinction) by a strong and high paling.

This, enclosing a spot of ground which had been marked out on the west side of the Cove for a ship-yard, landing provisions from the transports, and completing the granary, formed the principal labour in which the public gangs were employed this month at Sydney.

The weather was remarkably dry.

CHAPTER V

The Francis returns from the wreck of the Sydney Cove—The Eliza long-boat missing—Gale of wind—Cattle from the Cape landed—Station altered—Public works—An officer dies—Accident on board the schooner—The ships sail for China—Coal discovered—Natives—Bennillong—Courts of justice assembled—The Supply condemned—The Cumberland seized and carried off to sea; is pursued, but not retaken—More coal found; and a new river—The people left by Captain Bampton at New Zealand arrive at Norfolk Island—Several runaway convicts landed there by the Britannia—The Deptford arrives from Madras—Excursion to the cow pastures—Walk from Mount Taurus to the sea coast—Public works—Weather

IN the beginning of July, the *Francis* returned from the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*, bringing the remainder of her crew, except six, whom Captain Hamilton, her commander (and the only European belonging to her, then alive,) had left in charge of the part of her cargo which had been saved. The *Eliza* long-boat, which sailed from the island with them, had on board a few Lascars and some property; but having had to encounter a very heavy gale of wind, and not arriving with the schooner, many doubts were entertained of her safety. She was under the direction of Mr. Armstrong, the master of the *Supply*.¹

On the 17th, twelve days after the return of the *Francis*, it came on to blow exceedingly hard at SE and SSE by which many large trees and several chimneys were blown down. The gale was attended with a deluge of rain, and was so heavy, that some of the ships, even in that secure cove, brought their anchors home. In addition to other damage done at this time, two of the vanes of the wind-mill were torn off by the violence of the wind. This gale considerably increased the apprehensions of every one concerned for the safety of the long-boat.

The cattle which arrived in the *Reliance* were landed, and, considering that they had experienced much bad weather on the passage, looked extremely well. The two Colonial ships had been employed eight months on this voyage to and from the Cape, and had added 51 cows, 3 bulls, a few horses, and about 90 sheep, to the stock of domestic cattle in the colony.²

This species of provisions was multiplying largely; but the salt meat was decreasing so fast, that it became necessary to issue only half the usual ration of pork.

The convicts were employed in enclosing the new ship yard, shingling the barracks for the assistant surgeons, clearing ground at Portland-place, where seventy men were at work, and completing the repair of the public roads, in which necessary labour, the settlers again assisted, having finished the cropping of their grounds for the ensuing season.

The dry weather had been followed by several days' rain, by which the appearance of the wheat-grounds was very much improved.

Ensign Birch, of the New South Wales corps, died on the 5th, and was buried with military honours. He arrived in the *Britannia*.³

August.] The Colonial schooner, having been dispatched with some stores which were wanted at Norfolk Island, left the Cove on the 7th; but the wind failing, she anchored in the lower part of the harbour. While lying here, some of her people became drunk, and insisted on taking the boat ashore. This being resisted, one of the crew fired a pistol at a soldier who was on board, which, it being dark at the time, missed him, but the ball went through the leg of a seaman belonging to the *Supply*, who had been lent to the schooner. He was brought up to the hospital, and the man who fired the pistol was conducted to prison, to answer for his rashness.

The *Britannia* and the *Ganges* sailed on their respective voyages. The commander of the latter was permitted to take on board several convicts who had become free, and some of the marine soldiers who had been discharged from the New South Wales corps, having completed their second engagement in that regiment. They had talked of becoming settlers, and remaining some years longer in the country; but the restless love of change prevailed, and they quitted the colony by this opportunity.

Mr. Clark, the supercargo of the ship *Sydney Cove*, having mentioned that, two days before he had been met by the people in the fishing boat, he had fallen in with a great quantity of coal, with which he and his companions made a large fire, and had slept by it during the night, a whale-boat was sent off to the southward, with Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the *Reliance*, to discover where an article so valuable was to be met with. He proceeded about seven leagues to the southward of Point Solander, where he found, in the face of a steep cliff, washed by the sea a stratum of coal, in breadth about six feet, and extending eight or nine miles to the southward. Upon the summit of the high land, and lying on the surface, he observed many patches of coal, from some of which it must have been that Mr. Clarke was so conveniently supplied with fuel. He also found in the skeletons of the mate and carpenter of the *Sydney Cove*, an unequivocal proof of their having unfortunately perished, as was conjectured.

By the specimens of the coal which were brought in by Mr. Bass, the quality appeared to be good; but, from its almost inaccessible

situation, no great advantage could ever be expected from it; and indeed, were it even less difficult to be procured, unless some small harbour should be near it, it could not be of much utility to the settlement.⁴

No circumstance deserving of attention had occurred for some time among the natives. On the 27th of this month, however, one of their young men stood the trial practised by his countrymen, for having, as it was said, killed some person in a quarrel. He stood manfully up against all their spears, and defended himself with great skill and address. Having had two shields split in his hand, by the spear passing quite through them, his friends, who were numerous, attacked his opponents, whom they disarmed, and broke their shields, with many of their spears.

It had been intended to have thrown some spears at Bennillong at this time, from its having been reported that a woman, when she was dying, had declared she dreamed that Bennillong had killed her. Her friends, therefore, resolved to call him to an account, taking the business up on the supposition that the woman must have had some cause of complaint against him, or she would not have dreamed of his doing her an injury. To this accusation Bennillong pleaded not guilty, declaring that he was an entire stranger to the woman, and had never in his life offended her; but there were some who said that he actually wounded this very woman, and had been the cause of her death.

To those gentlemen who were acquainted with the temper and disposition of this savage, there appeared much reason to credit the assertions of his countrymen; for he was now observed to have become so fond of drinking, that, whenever invited by any of the officers to their houses, he was eager to be intoxicated, and in that state was so savage and violent as to be capable of any mischief. On such occasions he amused himself with annoying the women and insulting the men, who, from fear of offending his white friends, spared those notices of his conduct which he so often merited, and which sooner or later he would certainly meet with.

The court of criminal judicature was assembled once during this month, when three prisoners, one of whom was a seaman belonging to the *Britannia*, were transported to Norfolk Island for seven years.⁵

The civil court was also assembled, and went through much troublesome and litigious business, the effect of the spirit of trade which every where prevailed.

The *Reliance* having been cleared of her stores, and being now quite light, was yet found to make as much water as before; and it appeared, upon opening the ceiling, that the leak was in the guard-board streak, abreast of the main-mast, the water rushing in there with great force.

A survey had been held upon her consort, the *Supply*, after which she was pronounced wholly unfit for further sea service.

The brickmakers, bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths, were all fully and variously employed at this time. For the latter, a large and convenient shop, capable of working six or seven forges, was erecting at Sydney. The different works which were in hand went on with a greater spirit and more expedition than could have been expected, when the great want of artificers and labouring people was considered. Some, though but a few, mechanics had arrived in the last ships.

September.] This month began with a very vexatious circumstance. A boat named the *Cumberland*, the largest and best in the colony belonging to government, was, on her passage to the Hawkesbury, whither she was carrying a few stores, taken possession of by a part of the boat's crew; being at the same time boarded by a small boat from the shore, the people in which seized her and put off to sea, first landing the coxswain and three others, who were unwilling to accompany them, in Pitt Water in Broken Bay. Those men proceeded overland to Port Jackson, where they gave the first information of this daring and piratical transaction. Two boats, well manned and armed, were immediately dispatched after them, under the command of Lieutenant Shortland of the *Reliance*.

One of these boats returned in a few days, without having seen any thing of them; but Lieutenant Shortland proceeded with the other, a whale boat, as far as Port Stephens, where he thought it probable they might have taken shelter; but on the 19th, having been absent thirteen days, he returned without discovering the smallest trace of them or the boat. His pursuit, however, had not been without its advantage; for on his return he entered a river which he named Hunter river, about ten leagues to the southward of Port Stephens into which he carried three fathoms water, in the shoalest part of its entrance, finding deep water and good anchorage within. The entrance of this river was but narrow, and covered by a high rocky Island, lying right off it, so as to leave a good passage round the north end of the island, between that and the shore. A reef connects the south part of the island with the south shore of the entrance of the river. In this harbour was found a very considerable quantity of coal of a very good sort, and lying so near the water side as to be conveniently shipped; which gave it, in this particular, a manifest advantage over that discovered to the southward. Some specimens of this coal were brought up in the boat.⁶

About this time a small decked long boat arrived from Norfolk Island, and brought an account that the master of the American snow *Mercury* had landed there the remainder of the people who had been left by Captain Bampton in Dusky Bay. When the *Endeavour* was

wrecked there about 20 months before*, the governor, not having any vessel at Port Jackson fit for such a purpose, had expressed a wish to the master of the snow, to this effect, when he was about leaving New South Wales. The master made no objection, only stipulating that he might be permitted to take from the wreck such stores as he might be in want of; but to this the governor could not give his sanction, leaving him only to make what terms he could with any of the people belonging to her whom he might find alive. This service he performed under many difficulties, and brought off all that now remained of these unfortunate people, amounting to 35 in number, and landed them at Norfolk Island.

By this conveyance the governor was also informed, that the *Britannia* had touched at the Island, and landed several convicts who had secreted themselves on board her while she lay in this harbour. Disappointed as these people generally were in their attempts to escape from the settlement in this manner, yet it had become so certain a system, that all the vigilance which could be exerted both on shore and afloat was insufficient to prevent them. As the masters were seldom refused permission to ship such as were free, it was their business to receive no more on board than they could feed; and during the run between Sydney and Norfolk Island, the supernumeraries were generally discovered and brought up from below. Indeed, considering the description of people who formed the major part of these deserters, it was not safe to have many of them on board, being a lawless, abandoned, daring set of wretches, to whom the commission of every crime was more familiar than the practice of any one virtue.

On the 20th of the month, the *Deptford*, a small brig, arrived from Madras, with a cargo of goods upon speculation for the Sydney market. The spirit of trade which had for some time obtained in the colony afforded an opening for adventurers to bring their goods to this settlement. The voyage from India was short and direct; and, from the nature of their investments, they were always certain of finding a ready sale, and an ample return upon the original invoice. But this intercourse was found to be pregnant with great evil to the colony; for, preferring spirits to any other article that could be introduced from India, the owners never failed to make the rum of that country an essential part of every cargo which they sent upon speculation. And, though every necessary measure was adopted to prevent all that arrived from being landed, yet, such was the avidity with which it was sought after, that, if not permitted, it was generally got on shore clandestinely, and very few ships carried back any of what they had brought down. To this source might be traced all the crimes which disgraced, and all the diseases that injured the colony.⁷

* Vide Vol I p 384 and 388.

Toward the latter end of the month a party set off on an excursion to the cow pasture plains.⁸ On reaching mount Taurus, a distinct herd of the wild cattle, 67 in number, was seen. It was conjectured, that this valuable collection of cattle had so considerably increased, as to find a convenience in dividing into different herds, thereby preventing those quarrels which might frequently happen among their males. This was confirmed by their falling-in with, in another place, a herd, in which there could not have been fewer than 170 of these animals. A couple of days were pleasantly occupied in examining this part of the country, which exhibited the beautiful appearance of a luxuriant and well-watered pasturage. The latitude of mount Taurus was found to be 34°. 16'.S and the river Nepean was discovered to take its course close round the south side of this hill. Two gentlemen who were of this party having, at their setting out, proposed to walk from mount Taurus in as direct a line as the country would admit, to the sea-coast, a whale boat was ordered to wait for them about five leagues to the southward of Botany Bay. They expected to have reached the coast in one day, but they did not reckon on having full 25 miles of a rugged and mountainous road to cross. Making their course a little to the southward of east, they fell in with the boat very conveniently, and Mr. Bass, one of the gentlemen, described their route to have laid, the greatest part of the way, over nothing but high and steep ridges of hills, the land becoming more rocky and barren as they drew near the sea coast. In each of the valleys formed by these hills they found a run of fresh water, in some places of considerable depth and rapidity. The direction of these streams or runs being to the northward, they were supposed to fall into a harbour which lay about five or six miles to the southward of Port Solander, and had obtained the name of Port Hacking, the pilot of that name having had the honour of the discovery.*

A church clock having been brought to the settlement in the *Reliance* when that ship arrived from England, and no building fit for its reception having been since erected, preparations were now making for constructing a tower fit for the purpose; to which might be added a church, whenever at a future day the increase of labourers might enable the governor to direct such an edifice to be built.

One mill not being sufficient to grind the flour required by the inhabitants at Sydney, the stone masons were employed in breaking out and preparing stone for another at that place.

The blacksmith's shop, begun in the last month, was nearly completed at the end of this.

The weather was observed to be growing warm. Toward the middle of the month strong southerly winds, with rainy and unsettled weather, prevailed, particularly at the change of the moon.

* See the chart prefixed to this volume, where the route from Mount Taurus is laid down.

CHAPTER VI

Another boat seized and carried off—Order in consequence—The criminal court thrice assembled—Particulars—Three men stand in the pillory—Perjury explained to the convicts—Natives very troublesome; seize a boat—Various works in hand—An attempt to seize another boat frustrated—Prospect of a fine harvest—Wilson gives himself up—Is made use of—Two mares stolen—The clergyman's servant attempts to rob him—Information sent to India respecting the boats—An amphibious animal discovered—Description—Accident—Works—Police—Weather

THE month of October opened with a repetition of the vexatious circumstances that marked the opening of the preceding month. In the night of the 2nd, a boat was taken from Parramatta by some people who got unobserved out of the harbour. The three men who were put on shore from the *Cumberland* at the time she was seized upon, from an unwillingness to accompany them, being in this party, it was supposed they were connected in some way with those who were in that boat, and whom they might know where to find. An armed boat from the *Supply* was immediately dispatched after them; but in three days returned, as unsuccessful as Lieutenant Shortland had unfortunately been in his search.

From this circumstance there was reason to suppose that they had stood off from the land; in which case, as the weather since their departure had been unusually bad, the wind blowing a gale from the southward, with much rain, and their boat being a very bad one, it was probable they had perished.

In these two boats 15 convicts had made their escape from the settlement; six of whom had been transported for life; six others were from Ireland, of whose term of transportation no account had been sent out; and of the remainder, one had to serve until the 23rd of May 1799, another until the 2nd of April 1801, and the third until the 15th of April 1804.

Whatever might be the fate of these people, the evil was of great extent; since all that could be known of them to their fellow prisoners was, that they had successfully effected their escape. Had Bryan and his party, who went off with one of the King's boats in the year 1791, instead of meeting with the compassion and lenity which were expressed in England for their sufferings, been sent back and tried in New South Wales, for taking away the boat, and other thefts which they had committed, it was probable that others might have been deterred from following their example.¹

On this occasion an order was published², stating that, as, for the private convenience of various individuals, permission had been granted for the building of boats under certain dimensions, yet those boats had been frequently found so improperly secured in the night, and left by their respective owners in situations so favourable to the views of those ignorant beings who were perpetually looking out for means to escape from the settlement, the governor therefore found it expedient positively to prohibit the building of a boat of any kind without having previously obtained his express permission; and to declare, that if any of the boats then in use in the settlement should thenceforward be found improperly secured at night, or left with oars, rudder, masts, or sails on board, they would be laid on shore and burnt.

Such was the increase of crimes, that thrice in this month was the court of criminal judicature assembled.³ The offences that came under their cognisance were those of murder, perjury, forgery, and theft.

Two men were tried for having killed a native youth, well known in the settlement*; but it appearing to the court that he had been accidentally shot, they were acquitted.⁴ The natives certainly behaved ill, and often provoked the death which they met with; but there was not any necessity for wantonly destroying them, a circumstance which it was feared had but too often occurred. On the acquittal of these prisoners, they were assured by the governor, that he was determined to make an example of the first person who should be convicted of having wantonly taken the life of a native.

Another prisoner, John Morris, was tried for the murder of Charles Martin, by violently kicking and beating him, so that he died the following day. He was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to be burned in the hand and imprisoned for 12 months.⁵

One man was found guilty of uttering a bill knowing it to be forged, and adjudged to suffer death; and two others, for theft, were ordered to be transported to Norfolk Island, one for the term of his life, and another for seven years.⁶

It appearing on one of these trials, that three of the witnesses had manifestly and wilfully committed the crime of perjury, they were brought to trial; and, being found guilty, were sentenced to stand in the pillory; to which, as an additional punishment, their ears were to be nailed.⁷ Their sentence was put in execution before the public provision store, when the mob, either to display their aversion to the crime, or, what might be more probable, to catch at any thing that wore the form of amusement, pelted them with rotten eggs and dirt.

* By the name of Tom Rowley (after one of the officers of the regiment). He had accompanied Mr. Raven, in the *Britannia*, to Bengal, in the year 1795.

These people were three of the worst characters in the colony, Luke Normington, John Colley, and William Osborne.⁸ It amounted nearly to a mockery and profanation of religion to administer an oath to such hardened and unprincipled wretches; yet their testimony could not be refused when called for by a prisoner who was standing under the weight of a capital charge; but of the credibility of such testimony it was always in the breast of the court to judge.

On this occasion the governor deemed it advisable to explain, in public orders, the nature of this dreadful offence, an offence so certainly ruinous both to their temporal and eternal welfare. He pointed out to them, that, as every man who stood convicted of this dangerous breach of the law was thereby rendered infamous ever after, no one who had a character to lose (alas! how few were there who would feel themselves affected by this observation) would associate with such criminals, lest he should endanger his own reputation, and be considered as a voluntary approver and partaker in the infamy.⁹

It may be some relief to turn from the contemplation of such iniquity, though it should be only to the transactions of savages, differing from these wretches but in complexion.

On the 20th of this month the settlement were spectators of a severe contest which took place between two parties of natives; one of which was desirous of revenging the death of a friend, who had been killed by some native of a part of the country from which a young man had just then accidentally come amongst them. He was therefore immediately devoted to their vengeance. Finding their determination, he most gallantly stood up, and, being attacked by numbers, defended himself with the greatest bravery and address, until, being wounded in several places, he fell. As he lay upon the ground, several of his opponents treacherously rushed in upon him, and stabbed him repeatedly with a pointed stick, which they call a Doo-ul. In this situation he endeavoured to cover himself with his shield, on which, having risen from the ground, and being again attacked, he received their spears for some time with great dexterity, until some one, less brave and more treacherous than the rest, took a station unobserved on one side, and launched a spear, which went into his back and there remained. Seeing this, they were proceeding a second time to rush in upon him, when he had just strength enough left to make his escape into an adjoining house, where he received shelter, and from the severity of his wounds immediately fainted.

The spear was withdrawn, and his wounds dressed, by one of the surgeons who happened to be present; and in a few days he was able to walk about again. His brother, who had accompanied him to the field of battle, stood up in his defence, and was wounded in the leg and thigh.

The principal sufferer in this affair was known in the settlement

by the name of William and Ann (corrupted by their pronunciation to Wil-lam-an-nan) which he had adopted from a ship of the same name that arrived here in the year 1791.

Several of their women attended upon this occasion, and, as is common with them, howled and cried alternately during the most of the time; but when they were enraged, which often happened, they danced, and beat their sides with their arms; a certain proof of their passions being wrought up to the highest pitch.

Shortly after this, these people again exhibited themselves to the notice of the settlement, but in a very different point of view. On the 31st, an open boat arrived from the Hawkesbury, with a cargo of Indian corn, having been boarded in her passage down by a party of natives in canoes. Assuming an appearance of friendship, they were suffered to come into the boat, when, watching an opportunity, they threw off the mask, and made an attempt to seize the small arms. This occasioned a struggle, in which the boat's crew prevailed, but not before some of these unexpected pirates had paid for their rashness with their lives.

It was now discovered, that a boat belonging to a settler, which had been for some time missing, and was supposed to have been driven out to sea and lost with her crew and cargo of Indian corn, had actually been taken by the natives in the river, after murdering the men who were in her. The boat, on searching, was afterwards found in the possession of some of these people.

This was so novel a circumstance that it could scarcely be credited; but it was no less true; and there was but little doubt, that the white people who were living amongst them had been the unseen instigators of this mischief.

During this month a strong and durable bridge, capable of sustaining any weight which it might have occasion to bear, was erected over Duck river, for the convenience of land carriage between the towns of Sydney and Parramatta.

The military hospital which stood on the west side of the Cove was taken to pieces; and, a stone foundation (it had been hitherto fixed on blocks of wood) having been laid farther from the road side, it was removed during this month, and put together again in its new situation.

The wheat every where wore the most promising appearance, and the weather had been very favourable for bringing it to maturity.

Decreasing daily as did the number of working men in the employ of government, yet the governor could not refuse granting certificates to such convicts as had served their respective times of transportation; and no less than 125 men were at this time certified by him to be free. Most of these people had no other view in obtaining this certificate, than the enabling them when an opportunity offered to quit the settle-

ment, or following their own pursuits until that time should arrive.

November.] There being a scarcity of wheat in the public stores, owing to some local disappointments, the governor was obliged to make a reduction in the weekly allowance of that article, until the present crops should be gathered.

The facility with which the seizure of the *Cumberland* had been accomplished, and the subsequent escape of two parties of convicts, induced 14 others to form a plan for taking away a boat, and making a similar attempt at liberty. Having made a depot of all the stores which they meant to carry with them, at a place convenient for the purpose, the night was fixed for their departure; and they were on the point of embarking, when, to their great surprise, they found themselves surrounded by a party of magistrates and constables armed, who took them and their property into custody. They had not proceeded with all the caution necessary for such an enterprise, and a hint was given in time to defeat the execution of their project.

The following day these unthinking people, instead of being at large on the ocean, in possession of their fancied freedom, found themselves severely punished, and sent up to Parramatta there to be set to hard labour.

On the subject of these mad and hazardous schemes, the governor first addressed the convicts in person, and afterwards published an order, wherein he pointed out the risk that must ever attend such ill-judged enterprises; into which, he was of opinion, a few weak and ignorant people had been led by the deep and wicked designs of some who pretended to a greater share of wisdom, and who would not hesitate to sacrifice any that might be thought of less consequence to the general design, or less capable of rendering themselves useful when embarked, by forcing them on shore, if near the land, among a savage people where death must be inevitable; or by throwing them overboard, if at sea, to lighten their miserable vessel, and prevent, if possible, her drowning the whole.¹⁰

The Irish convicts who arrived in the last ship manifesting daily a propensity to desert from their work, a party of soldiers, under the command of a sergeant, was sent up to Toongabbie, where they were to remain during the harvest, which commenced in this month at that place and at Constitution Hill.

On the 24th, an order was published, in which the people employed in agriculture were reminded of the many accidents that happened last year by fire; strongly recommending more attention to the security of their present crops when taken off the ground, at the same time directing them to seize and secure as early as possible all such vagrants as they might meet with, who, being at large at this season, might do them much injury.¹¹

Nine hundred bushels of the last year's crop were brought round

from the Hawkesbury in the *Francis*, and deposited in the public store. Nothing could promise better than the appearance of the wheat of this season; but it had ripened suddenly, owing to some heavy rains having been followed by very hot weather. In the want of sufficient strength the military were hired to assist in reaping, it being absolutely necessary that no time should be lost in securing the produce of this year.

Toward the latter end of the month, James Wilson¹², who had for some time taken up his abode in the woods, and was one of those named in the proclamation of the 13th of May last, surrendered himself to the governor's clemency. He had been herding with the savages in different parts of the country, and was obliged to submit to have his shoulders and breast scarified after their manner; which he described to have been very painful in the operation. He made his appearance with no other covering than an apron formed of a Kangaroo's skin, which he had sufficient sense of decency remaining to think was proper.

The governor, well knowing, from his former habits, that if he punished and sent him to hard labour, he would quickly rejoin his late companions, thought it more advisable to endeavour to make him useful even in the mode of living which he seemed to prefer; he therefore pardoned him, and proposed his attempting, with the assistance of his friends, to take some of the convicts who were at large in the woods; two of whom had, just before Wilson's appearance, stolen two mares, the property of private individuals, but which were allowed to be kept during the night in a stable belonging to government.

Wilson, among other articles of information, mentioned, that he had been upwards of 100 miles in every direction round the settlement. In the course of his travelling he had noticed several animals, which, from his description, had not been seen in any of the districts; and to the northwest of the head of the Hawkesbury, he came upon a very extensive tract of open and well-watered country, where he had seen a bird of the pheasant species¹³, and a quadruped, which he said was larger than a dog, having its hind parts thin, and bearing no proportion to the shoulders, which were strong and large.

It is not improbable, that Wilson invented these circumstances in the hope of obtaining some attention, and thereby averting the punishment which he expected, and well knew that he had long deserved.

If it be painful to the writer of these sheets to find little else than crimes and their consequences to record, how much more painful must it have been to have lived where they were daily committed. Particularly so must it have proved to the gentleman who was in the chief direction of the settlement, who found himself either obliged to punish with severity, or to be fearful even of administering justice in mercy, lest that mercy should prove detrimental in the end, by encouraging others to offend in the hope of impunity.

There can scarcely be recorded a stronger instance of human depravity, than what the following circumstance, which happened in this month, exhibits. A convict, who had formerly been a school-companion with the Rev. Mr. Johnson, had been taken by that gentleman into his service, where he reposed in him the utmost confidence, and treated him with the kindest indulgence. He had not been long in his house before Mr. Johnson was informed that his servant, having taken an impression of the key of his storeroom in clay, had procured one that would fit the lock. He scarcely credited the information; but, being urged to furnish him with an opportunity, he consented that a constable should be concealed in the house, on a Sunday, when all the family, this servant excepted, would be attending divine service. The arrangement succeeded but too well. Concluding that all was safe, he applied his key, and, entering the room, was proceeding without any remorse to plunder it of such articles as he wanted; when the constable, seeing his prey within his toils, started from his concealment, and seized him in the act of taking the property.¹⁴

Thus was this wretched being without 'one compunctious visiting of nature,' detected in the act of injuring the man, who, in the better day of his prosperity, had been the companion of his youth, and who had stretched out his hand to shelter him in the present hour of his adversity!

The *Deptford* brig sailing this month for the coast of Coromandel, the governor took the opportunity of transmitting to Admiral Rainier, or the commander in chief of his Majesty's ships in the East Indies, a list of the deserted convicts, and a description of the two boats which had lately been taken from the colony. As it was, probably, the intention of those people to steer along the coast of New South Wales to the northward, until they should reach some of the Dutch settlements among the Molucca islands, there was a possibility of their being picked up by some of the King's cruisers; in the event of which, the governor forcibly urged their being forwarded, by any opportunity which might offer, to his government, there to be made an example that should, if possible, deter others from making the like attempts.

The widow of Ensign Brock¹⁵, who died in July last, availed herself of this opportunity to get, with her family, partly on her way to England.

Although the settlement had now been established within a month of ten years, yet little had been added to the stock of natural history which had been acquired in the first year or two of its infancy. The Kangaroo, the Dog, the Opossum, the Flying Squirrel, the Kangaroo Rat, a spotted Rat, the common Rat, and the large Fox-bat (if entitled to a place in this society), made up the whole catalogue of animals that were known at this time, with the exception which must now be made of an amphibious animal, of the mole species, one of which

ORNITHORHYNCHUS PARADOXUS.



AN AMPHIBIOUS ANIMAL of the MOLE KIND.

*which Inhabits the Banks of the fresh water Lagoons in New South Wales—
its fore feet are evidently their principal assistance in Swimming & their hind
feet having the Claws extending beyond the Web'd part are useful in burrowing.*

had been lately found on the banks of a lake near the Hawkesbury. In size it was considerably larger than the land mole.¹⁶ The eyes were very small. The fore legs, which were shorter than the hind, were observed, at the feet, to be provided with four claws, and a membrane, or web, that spread considerably beyond them, while the feet of the hind legs were furnished, not only with this membrane or web, but with four long and sharp claws, that projected as much beyond the web, as the web projected beyond the claws of the fore feet. The tail of this animal was thick, short, and very fat; but the most extraordinary circumstance observed in its structure was, its having, instead of the mouth of an animal, the upper and lower mandibles of a duck. By these it was enabled to supply itself with food, like that bird, in muddy places, or on the banks of the lakes, in which its webbed feet enabled it to swim; while on shore its long and sharp claws were employed in burrowing; nature thus providing for it in its double or amphibious character. These little animals had been frequently noticed rising to the surface of the water, and blowing like the turtle.

The subjoined engraving is from a drawing made on the spot by Governor Hunter.

Among the few circumstances that occurred out of the common course of events, must be mentioned that of a man belonging to the

hospital, who, in endeavouring to get hold of a boat which was close to the shore, over-reached himself and fell into deep water, where he was drowned. The body being immediately found, the means recommended by the Humane Society in such cases were made use of, but without the desired effect.¹⁷

The barracks for the assistant surgeons, and the tower of the intended church, were nearly completed during this month, and the paling round the new store-house was begun. The *Reliance*, whose leaks had been discovered, was strengthened with riders, several people being employed to bring in timber for that purpose. These formed some of the public works at Sydney. At Parramatta, Toongabbie, and the other interior settlements, all were actively employed in securing the abundant crops which every where promised to reward the industry of the settler and the labourer.

The annual election of constables took place in this month. These municipal regulations were attended at least with the advantage of introducing something like a system of regularity into the settlement, than which nothing was more likely to check the relaxation which had lately prevailed in it.

The weather in November was, for the first and middle parts, very unsettled, blowing hard at times with much rain. On one day, there fell a shower of hail, the stones of which were each as big as a lark's egg. The latter part of the month was fair, and favourable for reaping the grain.

CHAPTER VII

Bennillong and Cole-be—Various particulars respecting the natives—Ye-ra-ni-be killed—A settler's house burnt through malice—Schools at Sydney—Two settlers drink for a wager—The body of a soldier found—Criminal court—The Francis sails for the wreck—Weather—Houses burnt, public labour—Harvest—Account of live stock and ground in cultivation

December.]

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred about the beginning of this month, that excited much interest in the town of Sydney, and great commotion among the natives. Two of these people, both of them well known in the settlement, (Cole-be, the friend of Bennillong, and one of the Ye-ra-ni-bes) meeting in the town, while their bosoms were yet swelling on occasion of some former difference, attacked each other. Cole-be had always been remarked for his activity, but Ye-ra-ni-be had more youth than his adversary, and was reckoned a perfect match for him. On closing on each other, with their clubs, until which time Cole-be had not gained any advantage over Ye-ra-ni-be, the handle of Ye-ra-ni-be's shield drew out, and it consequently fell from his grasp: while stooping to take it up, the other struck him on the head with a club, which staggered him, and followed his blow while he was in that defenceless situation.

Cole-be knew that this would ensure him the appellation of jeerun, or coward, and that the friends of Ye-ra-ni-be would as certainly take up his cause. As the consequences might be very serious if he should die of the blow, he thought it prudent to abscond for a while, and Ye-ra-ni-be was taken care of by some of his white friends. This happened on the 10th, and on the 16th he died. In this interval he was constantly attended by some of his male and female associates, particularly by his two friends, Collins (for Gnung-a Gnung-a still went by the late judge-advocate's name) and Mo-roo-bra. On one of the nights when a most dismal song of lamentation had been sung over him, in which the women were the principal performers, his male friends, after listening for some time with great apparent attention, suddenly started up, and, seizing their weapons, went off in a most savage rage, determined on revenge. Knowing pretty well where to meet with Cole-be, they beat him very severely, but would not kill him, reserving that gratification of their revenge until the fate of their companion should be decided. On the following night, Collins and Mo-roo-bra attacked a relation of Cole-be's, Boo-ra-wan-ye, whom they beat about the head with such cruelty that his recovery was

doubtful. As their vengeance extends to all the family and relations of a culprit, what a misfortune it must be to be connected with a man of a choleric disposition!

Ye-ra-ni-be was buried the day after his decease by the side of the public road, below the military barracks. He was placed by his friends upon a large piece of bark, and laid into a grave, which was formed by them after our manner (only not so deep), they seeming in this instance to be desirous of imitating our custom. Bennillong assisted at the ceremony, placing the head of the corpse, by which he struck a beautiful war-ra-taw, and covering the body with the blanket on which he died. Being supplied with some spades, the earth was thrown in by the by-standers, during which, and indeed throughout the whole of the ceremony, the women howled and cried excessively; but this was the effect of the violent gusts of passion into which the men every moment threw themselves. At this time many spears were thrown, and some blows were inflicted with clubs; but no serious mischief ensued. On the death of Cole-be, all seemed determined; for the man whose life he had in so cowardly a manner taken away was much beloved by his countrymen.

With this design, a number of natives assembled a few days afterwards before the barracks, breathing revenge; at which time a young man, a relation to the object of their vengeance, received so many wounds, that he was nearly killed; and a lad, who was also related to him (Nan-bar-ray, the same who formerly lived with Mr. White, the principal surgeon), was to have been sacrificed; but he was saved for the present by the appearance of a soldier, who had been sent to the place with him for his protection; and it was thought that when the present tumult against his uncle (for Cole-be was the brother of this boy's father) had subsided, nothing more would be thought of him.

Cole-be, finding that he must either submit to the trial usual on such occasions, or live in the continual apprehension of being taken off by a midnight murder and a single hand, determined to come forward, and suffer the business to be decided one way or the other. Having signified his resolution, a day was appointed, and he repaired armed to the place of rendezvous. The rage and violence shown by the friends of the deceased were indescribable; and Cole-be would certainly have expiated his offence with his life, but for the interference of several of the military, before whose barrack the affair took place. Although active, and extremely *au fait* in the use of the shield, he was overpowered, and, falling beneath their spears, would certainly have been killed on the spot, but several soldiers rushed in, and prevented their putting him to death where he lay; he himself, from the many severe wounds which he had received, being wholly incapable of making any resistance. His friends, the soldiers, lifted him from the ground, and between them bore him into the barracks.

Bennillong, the particular friend and companion of Cole-be, was present at this meeting; but, it was supposed, without intending to take any part in it either way. The atrocity of his friend's conduct had been such that he could not openly espouse his quarrel; perhaps he had no stomach to the fight; and certainly, if he could avoid it, he would not, by appearing against him, add to the number of his enemies. He was armed, however, and unencumbered with clothing of any kind, and remained a silent spectator of the tumultuous scene, until the moment when the soldiers rushed in to save the life of Cole-be. His conduct here became inexplicable. On a sudden, he chose to be in a rage at something or other, and threw a spear among the soldiers, which dreadfully took effect on one of them, entering at his back and coming out at the belly, close to the navel. For this he would instantly have been killed on the spot, had not Mr. Smith, the provost-marshal, interfered and brought him away, boiling with the most savage rage; for he had received a blow on the head with the butt-end of a musket.

It became necessary to confine him during the night, as well to prevent the mischief with which he threatened the white people, as to save him from the anger of the military, and on the following morning he quitted the town.

This man, instead of making himself useful, or shewing the least gratitude for the attentions which he received from every one, had become a most insolent and troublesome savage. As it was impossible sometimes to avoid censuring him for his conduct, he had been known to walk about armed, and heard to declare it was for the express purpose of spearing the governor whenever he saw him. This last outrage of his had rendered him more hateful than any of his countrymen; and, as the natives who had so constantly resided and received so many comforts in the settlement were now afraid to appear in the town, believing that, like themselves, we should punish all for the misconduct of one, it might rather be expected that Bennillong could not be far from meeting that punishment which he certainly provoked and merited.

During the time that Ye-ra-ni-be was alive, the attendance of the natives who were then in the town was called to the performance of the ceremony named Yoo-lahng Era-ba-diang, the particulars of which have been described in the preceding* part of this account. The place of meeting at this time was in the middle harbour; and the various exhibitions which took place were not observed to differ from those of the preceding years. The season of the year was the same, but not precisely the month, which confirmed the conjecture of their not being influenced by any particular motive in the choice

* Vide Appendix to Vol I.

of the month of February for the celebration of this curious and peculiar ceremony.

Bennillong, who assisted at it, returned without his wife, the lady having been without much difficulty persuaded by her mother, whom she accidentally met at the Yoo-lahng, to leave her husband, and return with her to the place of her residence. Bennillong, notwithstanding the European polish which he could at times assume, was by no means a favourite with, or held in much estimation by the females of his own complexion. If any unfortunate girl was seen to be in his train for any time, she was well known to be actuated less by inclination than by the fear of his exercising that right which the stronger always claimed the privilege of possessing over the weaker sex.

The business of the settlement now reclaims our notice.

Some time in this month the house of John Mitcham, a settler in the district of Concord, was attacked by three villains, and set on fire, together with a stack of wheat, which he had just completed and secured against the weather. This unfortunate man was indebted about £33 which the contents of his wheat-stack would have paid off; but now, besides being very much beaten, he had the world to begin again, with a load of debt which this untoward accident would much increase. The man himself knew not to what cause to attribute it; and he was as ignorant who were his enemies; for two of them had blackened their faces, and to the third he was a stranger.¹

On its being represented to the governor, he gave information of the mischief in the public orders; and at the same time called upon every man who valued the safety of his person, and the security of his property, to use the utmost vigilance in discovering and bringing to justice these daring offenders, that the law might have an opportunity of shewing its ability to defend the property of every inhabitant of the colony, by the punishment of those who dared to attack it. He also observed, as a further inducement, that the inhabitants could not fail to see the danger of suffering evils of this kind to pass unnoticed; as the most ignorant must know, that every reduction in the quantity of wheat must be attended with a reduction in the weekly ration; a circumstance by which every man, whether on or off the public store, was affected. The Order concluded with an offer of conditional freedom, and permission to become a settler, to any person, who, being a convict, would come forward and give such information as might serve to convict the offenders before a court of criminal judicature.²

Dogs had increased to such an extent as to occasion their becoming the object of a public order, restricting the number kept by each person to no more than were absolutely necessary for the protection of his house and premises. Much mischief had been done by them among the hogs, sheep, goats, and fowls of individuals.³

There were at this time in the town of Sydney three schools for the education of children⁴; and this being the period of their breaking-up for the Christmas holidays, the governor was gratified with the sight of 102 clean and decently dressed children, who came with their several masters and mistresses, and in form paid their respects to his excellency, who examined the progress of the elder scholars in writing, specimens of which he kept for the purpose of comparing with those which they should present to him on the following Christmas.

One moment's reflection on the vices that prevailed in the colony will be sufficient to excite a wish, that some institution could have been devised for separating the greater part of these (at present, innocent) members of the community from their vicious parents, where they could have been educated at the public expense, their propensities to evil corrected, and that turn given to their attainments which should secure them a stock of useful knowledge. An arrangement of this nature was every day becoming more necessary; for there were not less than 300 young people at this time in the town of Sydney, none of whom, with the exception of a very few, had been born in England.

On the eve of Christmas Day two young men, settlers on some land midway between Sydney and Parramatta, having been boasting of their respective abilities in drinking, regardless of the solemnity of the time, challenged each other to a trial of their skill; on which they were so deliberately bent, that, to prevent their being interrupted, they retired to the skirts of a neighbouring wood, with a quantity of raw spirits which they had provided for the purpose. Their abilities, however, were not equal to their boasting; for one of them died upon the spot, and the life of the other was fast ebbing when he was taken up.⁵ Had another hour elapsed, he too must have perished, like his wretched companion. They had not been able to finish all the pernicious spirit which they had prepared, some of it remaining by them in a case bottle when they were found.

On the morning of Christmas Day, the governor was informed that two seamen belonging to the *Reliance* had discovered the body of a soldier (who had been for two days missing from the look-out post on the South Head, where he was on duty), lying in a mangled state, the head and hands being cut off. Some words having passed between him and a soldier, who had been also heard to threaten him, he was suspected of having committed the murder, and on the 30th was put on his trial for the same. Nothing, however, appeared before the court that could substantiate the charge of murder against him; neither was it clearly ascertained that violent hands had been laid on the deceased. As it had been foreseen that direct proof would be wanting, it was deemed expedient to obtain what might be, though not positive, yet of a nature to be nearly as satisfactory. With this view, the suspected person was directed to handle and bury the body, which he did without

any apparent emotion; nor did the body bleed at his touch, or exhibit any sign that superstition or ignorance could turn into an accusation against him; he observing at the same time, that, as he had never had any quarrel with the deceased, he could have no objection to perform this last friendly office for him.⁶

At this court a settler was fined the sum of 40 shillings, and ordered to labour for six weeks, being convicted of disobeying the public orders of the colony.

The commander of the wrecked ship, *Sydney Cove*, having solicited the governor to spare him the Colonial schooner for the purpose of visiting the wreck of his ship, and the six men whom he had left upon the island in charge of what had been landed; though he could very ill part with the services of the vessel at this time, yet, in consideration of the melancholy situation of the people, and the chance that there might be of saving something for the benefit of the underwriters, he consented; and about the latter end of the month the *Francis* sailed with Captain Hamilton to the southward.

The weather was now becoming exceedingly hot; and as, at this season of the year, the heat of the sun was so intense that every substance became a combustible, and a single spark, if exposed to the air, in a moment became a flame, much evil was to be dreaded from fire. On the east side of the town of Sydney, a fire, the effect of intoxication or carelessness, broke out among the convicts' houses, when three of them were quickly destroyed; and three miles from the town another house was burnt by some run-away wretches, who, being displeased with the owner, took this diabolical method of shewing it.

The public labour of the month at Sydney comprised the covering of the new store-house; finishing the church tower; constructing another wind-mill, of which the beams of the second floor were laid; completing the barracks of the assistant surgeons, with necessary offices; digging the foundation of a house for the master boat-builder; and taking down one of the old marine barracks, on the site of which the governor proposed to erect a granary.

At Parramatta and Toongabbie the wheat was nearly all got in and secured. At the latter of these places, a capital barn had been erected for its reception, 90 feet in length, with a complete floor, on which eight or nine pairs of thrashers could be employed without any inconvenience.

In order to mark the annual* increase, it may be proper to insert in this place an account of the live-stock and land in cultivation at the close of the year, belonging to government, the civil and military officers, the settlers, and others.⁷

* Vide Vol I p 411.

LIVE STOCK

| Horses | Mares | Horned Cattle | | Hogs | Sheep | | Goats | |
|--------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | | Bulls & Oxen | Cows | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 26 | 58 | 132 | 195 | 4247 | 743 | 1714 | 781 | 1495 |

LAND IN CULTIVATION

| Acres in Wheat | Acres for Maize | Acres in Barley |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 3361½ | 1527 | 26½ |

In addition to these, a considerable quantity of garden-ground was in potatoes, callevances, and vines.⁸

CHAPTER VIII

Attempt of some Irish convicts to desert in search of a new settlement—Some punished—Steps taken to prevent future desertion—A settler's boat stolen—Particulars—The Francis returns from the southward—conjectures as to a strait—Natives—A convict providentially saved—Public works—Weather

January 1798.]

THE Irish prisoners who had arrived in the last ships from that country had about this period become so turbulent and refractory, and so dissatisfied with their situation, that, without the most rigid and severe treatment, it was impossible to derive from them any labour whatever. In addition to their natural vicious propensities, they conceived an opinion that there was a colony of white people, which had been discovered in this country, situated to the SW of the settlement, from which it was distant between three and four hundred miles, and in which they were assured of finding all the comforts of life, without the necessity of labouring for them.¹

It was discovered, that, in consequence of this extraordinary rumour, a plan had been formed, by means of a correspondence carried on between these people, from one district to another, of escaping from the colony; which was to be put in execution so soon as they had completed a sufficient stock of provisions. The place of general rendezvous was fixed upon, and they were furnished with a paper of written instructions for their guidance to this fancied paradise, or to China; in addition to which, they had been supplied with the figure of a compass drawn upon paper.

Having received early information of the intentions of this party, the governor wrote to a magistrate at Parramatta, desiring that he would go to Toongabbie, where the principal part of the malcontents were employed, and point out to them the danger to which so ill-advised a step would expose them; but, as to attempt to reason with ignorance and obstinacy was only to waste time, he was to acquaint them, that the governor would allow any four of them whom they should select from their number, and who they might think capable of travelling over steep and rocky mountains, through thick and extensive woods, and fording deep and rapid streams, to proceed as far as they should find themselves able with such provisions as they could carry. That further, for the preservation of the lives of those four men, he would order three other people, who were accustomed to

the woods of this country, and well acquainted with the savages of the mountains, to accompany and lead them in the direction pointed out in their written instructions.

On conversing with these infatuated people, it appeared, that the history of the supposed settlement had its rise from some strange and unintelligible account which one of these men, who had left his work, and resided for some time with the natives, had collected from the mountain savages.

A very few days demonstrated the effect of the governor's address to these ignorant people. He received information, that considerable numbers of them were assembling for the purpose of proceeding in quest of the new settlement. He, therefore, directed a party of armed constables, to waylay and secure as many as they were able; which was effected, and sixteen were taken and put into confinement. On speaking to them the following day, they appeared to be totally ignorant whither they were going; but, observing in them as much obstinacy as ignorance, the governor justly conceived that he could not use an argument more likely to convince them of their misconduct, than by ordering a severe corporal punishment to be inflicted at Sydney on those who appeared to be the principals in this business; which was accordingly put in execution; seven of them receiving each two hundred lashes; the remainder, after being punished at Parramatta, were sent to hard labour and strictly looked after.

On enquiry it appeared, that this party was composed of several who were present when the magistrate addressed them by order of the governor; and that others had assembled from different farms, which were situated at a considerable distance from each other. The trouble taken to collect and mislead these people proved to him that it was the work of some wicked incendiary, who designed by this means to embarrass the public concerns of the colony, and thereby throw obstacles in the way of his government.

Being, on further consideration of the necessity of checking this spirit of emigration, determined to convince them, by their own experience, of the danger and difficulties which attended it, the governor caused four of the strongest and hardiest among them to be chosen by themselves, and properly prepared for a journey of discovery. They were to be accompanied by three men, upon whom the governor knew he could depend, and who were to lead them back, when fatigued and exhausted with their journey, over the very worst and most dangerous part of the country. This plan was no sooner settled, than the governor received information on which he could rely, that a party of these miscreants had concerted with the four deputies to meet them at a certain place, where they were to murder the persons intended to be their guides, possess themselves of their arms and provisions, and then pursue their own route. This diabolical scheme was counter-

acted by the addition of four soldiers to the guides; and on the 14th they set off from Parramatta.

On the 24th the soldiers returned with three of the deputies, who, having gained the foot of the first mountains, were so completely sick of their journey, and of the prospect before them, that they requested to return with the soldiers, whose mission here terminated, being ordered to leave them at this place in the direction of the guides; one man only expressed a resolution to persevere, and penetrate further into the country, and was left with them for that purpose.²

The history of these people might well be supposed to end here; but their restless dispositions were not calculated to remain long in peace.

It will be seen, on recurring to the transactions of the month of October last, that a boat belonging to a settler had been carried off in the night, by some people who were supposed to have taken her out to sea, where, from the weakness of the boat, they must soon have perished: but they were now heard of again. Owen Cavanagh, a free man, had a boat which he employed in transporting grain from the Hawkesbury to Sydney.³ On the 10th of this month, he informed the governor, that, a short time before, his boat had been boarded in the night, off Mullett Island, by the very people who had stolen the one from the settler, and carried her off, with another containing fifty bushels of grain which some other person was bringing to Sydney. One man, who had, against his wish, been concerned in the first seizure, now left them, and returned with Cavanagh; and from him the following account of their proceedings was obtained. Having effected the capture, they proceeded to the southward, with the intention of reaching the wreck of the ship *Sydney Cove*. For their guide, they had a pocket compass, of which scarcely one man of the fourteen who composed the party knew the use. In this boat they were twice thrown on shore, and at last reached an island, where, had they not fortunately found many birds and seals, they must inevitably have perished. From the inconceivable hardships they underwent, they would to a man have gladly returned, could they have hoped that their punishment would have been any thing short of death. Finding it impossible for such a number of discontented beings to continue of one mind, or to be able to furnish food in their miserable situation for so many, they judged it necessary, from a motive of self-preservation, that one half should deceive the other half; and while these were asleep, those who were prepared took away the boat, leaving their seven wretched and unsuspecting companions upon the desolate island, the situation of which this man could not describe so as to enable the governor at any time to find it. Their number now being reduced to seven, and thinking themselves in danger near this port, they had been lurking for some time about Broken Bay, with a view of capturing

a better boat loaded with grain from the Hawkesbury; which they effected, first by taking the boat of Owen Cavanagh, the support of whose wife and children it had long been. After securing him, they took possession of a smaller boat, containing upwards of fifty bushels of wheat; and, finding Cavanagh's the largest and best of the two, they ran out about three or four leagues from the land, when they shifted their prisoners into the smaller boat, and stood off to the Northward; where it was very probable they would lose their boat, she being of such a size, that if they should get her on shore by any accident, they would not be able to launch her again, and must finally perish.

Here we find extreme ignorance, accompanied by great cunning, producing cruelty; for nothing less can be said of their abandoning the miserable uninformed companions of their crime. Self-preservation was their plea; but was there not a method left within their reach, which might have preserved the whole? Might they not have returned to Sydney, and thrown themselves upon that mercy which they had so often seen exercised in the settlement. Could it be imagined, that at this day there was existing in a polished civilised kingdom a race of beings (for they do not deserve the appellation of men) so extremely ignorant, and so little humanised as these were, compared with whom the naked savages of the mountains were an enlightened people?

Occasional desertions of one or two people at a time had occurred since the establishment of the settlement; but the first convicts who arrived from Ireland in the *Queen* in the year 1791 went off in numerous bodies, few of whom ever returned. They too were prepossessed with the possibility of penetrating through the woods to China, and imparted the same idea to all of their countrymen who came after them, engaging them in the same act of folly and madness. It was not then to be wondered at, that Wilson⁴, who lately came in from the woods, should, among other articles of information, mention his finding more than fifty skeletons, which the natives assured him had been white men, who had lost their way and perished. This account was corroborated by different European articles which were scattered about, such as knives, old shoes, and other things which were known not to belong to the natives.

On the 20th the *Francis* returned with Captain Hamilton from the southward. Previous to his departure for the wreck of his ship, he had informed the governor that she had on board nearly 7000 gallons of spirits, and solicited permission to bring back a part with him in the schooner. The governor, ever averse to the introduction of spirituous liquors, would certainly have resisted the application; but, it being generally known in the colony that a considerable quantity of this article had been saved from the wreck, and that the island abounded with kangaroos and birds, he conceived these circumstances

not only to have conduced to those desertions and captures of boats which had been effected, but as likely to prove farther temptations to similar practices. He therefore determined to purchase the rum of Captain Hamilton; and, as there was none in store for the public service, to take it on account of government. An agreement was accordingly entered into by the commissary, and 3500 gallons were brought round in the *Francis*.

Captain Hamilton stated, that of all the other articles which had been taken on shore from the wreck, a small quantity of coarse cloth alone had been saved, the remainder having been destroyed by gales of wind and bad weather. The wreck of the ship was entirely washed away. Of the six Lascars who had been left with the property, one had died; the other five were in health, and had lived tolerably well, killing upon a neighbouring island as many kangaroos and birds as they could use. These poor fellows had erected a smoke-house, and had salted and smoke-dried as much meat as would serve them during the ensuing winter.

These people, though provided only with one small boat, had made some excursions; and it appeared by their accounts, that this part of the coast of New South Wales was formed entirely by a group of islands, extending as far as they had seen to the westward of them, and interspersed with many shoals. Hence, and indeed from observations which he had made when on that part of the coast himself, the governor thought it highly probable that there were many passages or straits quite through to the ocean westward, making Van Diemen's land, the southernmost part of New Holland, an island.

Captain Hamilton had left a cow with his people, but she had died; a mare that he had been more fortunate with was brought away in the *Francis*.

Notwithstanding the severe trial which Cole-be had been put to for the death of Ye-ra-ni-be, the friends of that young man had not thought it sufficient to atone for his loss. One of them, Mo-roo-bra, in company with some other natives, meeting with Cole-be, made an attack upon him, with a determination to put an end to the business and his life together. Cole-be, not yet recovered of the wounds that he had received in the last affair, was unable to make much resistance; and, after receiving several blows on the head, was supposed to have been dispatched; but Mo-roo-bra, as they were quitting him, seeing him revive, and attempting to rise, returned to finish this savage business; which so exasperated another native, that he snatched up a spear, and in a rage threw it with all his force at Mo-roo-bra. The spear entered his right side, just over the hip bone, and went inclining downwards quite through the body, penetrating the bladder in its passage. Of this wound he died in about an hour. On the same evening this generous fellow was attacked by the friends of the deceased

in the usual way; and, as might be expected, defended himself with great gallantry. He was, however, speared twice through the thigh, once through the leg, and received a bad wound in the right hand. The spear entered at the side of the hand, rather on the back part of it, came out in the palm, entered again under the ball of the thumb, and came out on the back of the hand, near the tendon of the forefinger. The very little inflammation that attended these painful wounds was remarkable.

Both the officiating magistrates at Sydney being at this time much indisposed⁵, so great an inconvenience was felt, that the governor found it necessary, through the want of other magistrates, to take upon himself the execution of some part of their troublesome office. It must be observed, that the governor for the time being is a justice of the peace, by virtue of his Majesty's letters patent.

Towards the latter end of the month, he went up to Parramatta, attended by his aid-de-camp, to examine the progress of the works carrying on there.

While on this service, an Irish convict, who had escaped from his work, and had been for some time missing, was brought in. He had wandered about for several days in search of a road which he expected to have found, and which was to have conducted him to China, or the new colony; but, his strength failing with his provisions, he grew faint, and, despairing of meeting with any relief, he had just sense enough to reverse the written instructions which had been calculated solely to carry him out, directing him to keep the sun on a particular part of his body, varying according to the time of the day. By this method he travelled eastward, and in a direction that led him nearly to the head of George's river⁶, where a few people were settled; and, having one morning heard the report of a gun at a distance, he endeavoured to walk towards it, but was unable to make himself heard by hallooing, when night overtook him. Being faint and wearied, he took a little flour, which he still had in his pocket, and sprinkling it on some fresh water, drank it, and laid himself down to rest. In the morning, being somewhat refreshed, he again exerted himself to get forward in the direction whence the report of the gun had revived him, and soon after heard a man's voice, upon which he hallooed again, and to his infinite joy was answered. The man, who was one of the settlers, took him to his house, recruited his spirits, and brought him into the town. On being questioned how he found his way back, he said, 'that a paper compass which had been given him was of no utility; he therefore kept his face toward the place where the sun came from; but if the hord⁷ had not been on his side, he should have been lost, for he had been two whole days without any food, except a little flour and water.'

Among the public works that were carrying on during this month

must be reckoned the laying another floor in the granary at Parramatta; repairing the military barracks, store-houses, and every brick building belonging to government, which were so far decayed as to be scarcely able to support their own weight. These repairs, which they had long been in want of, and which if sooner attended to would have preserved them from the ruin they were fast approaching, with the various other buildings that were so essentially requisite, completely stood in the way of making any exertions in clearing and cultivating land, and considerably added to the expences of the colony. At Sydney the tower of the second wind-mill was begun; and on the 31st, the building being completed for its reception, the public clock was set up, and, for the first time, announced the hour to the inhabitants at Sydney.⁸ The shipwrights were employed in constructing a flat-bottomed vessel for the carriage of planks, posts, etc.

Some heavy rain fell in this month, which for the time retarded all out-door work; but it came very opportunely for the maize, the growth of which had been rather obstructed by the dry weather which preceded.

CHAPTER IX

The Francis again sails for the wreck—Bennillong and his wife—Report respecting the wild cattle—An anonymous writing found—Account of a journey to the westward—Description of a new bird—A general muster—Mr. Bass returns from an excursion in an open boat to the southward—Particulars of it—Three Irishmen picked up—Public works—Weather in February

February.]

ON the 1st of this month the *Francis* was again dispatched to the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*.

When Bennillong accompanied Governor Phillip to England in the year 1792, he left a young wife to deplore his absence. The manners of savages, in this instance, were found somewhat to resemble those of civilised life. The lady surrendered to the importunities of a youthful lover, who, to say the truth, had in some material points the advantage over Bennillong; and of him she became so enamoured, that neither the entreaties, the menaces, nor the presents* of her husband at his return, could induce her to leave him. From that time, she was considered by every one, Bennillong excepted, as the wife of Ca-ru-ay. He, finding himself neglected by other females whose smiles he courted (after the fashion of his country indeed), sometimes sought to balance the mortification by the forced embraces of his wife; but, her screams generally bringing her lover or a friend to her assistance, he was not often successful. In one of these attempts, at this time, he came off with a severe wound in the head, the lady and her lover laughing at the rage which it occasioned.

The man who killed Mo-roo-bra had undergone a second attack from his friends; and, though yet suffering from the wounds which he received in the first affair, made a most excellent defence.

The governor having been informed, by some of the natives who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the cow pasture plains, that several of the wild cattle had been killed, and imagining this mischief to have been done by some of the Irish convicts (who were nearly as wild themselves as the cattle), a party of the military, with Hacking, a man well acquainted with that part of the country, was sent out with orders to surprise, and if possible to secure them. After being absent some days, they returned and reported, that, having searched the country round, no traces were seen of the cattle in any of the places where they had been accustomed to range, nor did they meet

* Vide Vol I p 367.

with any white people; but the natives persisted in asserting their having seen some of them among them, and added that some of the calves had been run down by them. This was not impossible; and the idea was somewhat strengthened, by their finding some short spears pointed with the leg bone of the kangaroo, which were supposed to be designed for stabbing the calves when caught. Although it was the opinion of these people, that the cattle had quitted the part of the country in which they had been so long known to graze, there was yet much reason to believe that this was not the case; for, on visiting them, they were not always to be found in one spot.

It will be sufficient to state the following circumstance, to show the unpleasant and distressing situation of the principal officer of the settlement, by the construction that was put on his endeavours to rectify every abuse that the inhabitants might labour under.

An infamous and seditious anonymous paper was dropped in the streets, in which the governor and every officer in the colony were most scurrilously abused and libelled, and accused of practising extortions in the way of trade.¹ This would not have been misplaced, had the abuse been confined to the description of persons who really deserved it, and truth had been attended to, which would have afforded them ample materials. But, although it must have been evident to every one who had sense to see it, that the governor, from the hour of his arrival, had used his utmost endeavours to put an end to the practice of so much imposition; yet this libeller inferred, from his not succeeding, that he was become one in the number of retail traders who disgraced the settlement.

A reward was immediately offered for the discovery of the offender; but, as might have been expected, without success.

The three persons who had been sent out with the Irishmen, that were so desirous of discovering a country wherein they might live more at their ease, returned on the 9th, so much exhausted with fatigue that two of them were scarcely able to move when they arrived. Wilson, who was the third, having been longer in the habit of travelling through the woods, kept up their spirits, and thereby enabled them to reach Prospect Hill about sunset; where, from long abstinence, having had nothing to support them for several days, except two or three small birds, the refreshment which they procured had nearly overcome them. Such were the difficulties attending excursions in the interior of this country. With Wilson, who knew much of the country, and was well qualified to conduct the party, the governor sent a lad, a free servant of his, who was capable of giving an account of the occurrences of the journey; and from him the following particulars were collected:²

From Mount Hunter³ (which was the highest land then known in that part of the country, and distant from the township of Parramatta

from about 30 to 34 miles in a SW direction) they took their departure on the 24th of last month, travelling in a SSW course for 18 miles, 12 of which laid through a fine open country. There they fell in with the river Nepean, which was found winding to the southward and westward, close behind the cow pasture plains. The banks of the river being at this place exceedingly steep and rocky, they had some difficulty in getting across.⁴ On the other side the ground wore a barren, unpromising appearance; and during the day they saw only a few kangaroos of a particular kind, having long, black, and brushy tails; with a few birds, which from the length of the tail feathers, they denominated pheasants.⁵

On the 25th they continued in their course, SSW for six miles, through a country in general open, and apparently of a good black soil. In the course of the day they saw many kangaroos and several emus; and fell in with a party of natives, one of whom engaged to accompany them, on condition of their halting for that night where they then were. Consenting to this, they had leisure to examine a hill in that neighbourhood, the face of which appeared white, and proved to be an immense cliff of salt, a specimen of which they brought in.⁶

On the 26th, they determined to incline more to the westward, and travelled 16 miles in a direction WSW over a rocky country, covered with brush wood, and a prickly kind of vine.⁷ They did not meet with any natives; and that animals existed there, they only saw by their faeces.

They continued on the 27th travelling in the same direction about 16 miles; the first six of which were like those of the preceding day. From thence they got into an open but mountainous country, where they crossed a small river, and discovered a quantity of coal and lime-stone. Here every mile they went the scene improved. The rocky and barren ground was exchanged for a flat country and beautiful meadows, furnishing pasture for the kangaroos and emus, several of which they saw. The timber was observed to run small, and to be thinly scattered about, there being scarcely ten trees upon an acre of ground. The quality of them was known in the settlement, where a similar timber was called the Black Wattle.⁸

On the 28th their course was still WSW and their distance increased 20 miles in that direction. The land and the timber on it were much the same as they had seen the preceding day. In one part they ascended a hill, from which they obtained a view of the country for some distance round. To the northward it seemed to be open, and thinly clad with timber: to the north-westward they saw some high mountains, and an appearance of much good land in that direction: to the westward they observed a deep break in the land; this they conjectured to be formed by a river, which, if one, laid in a SE and NW direction.

To the southward the land seemed high, but still open.⁹ In the course of this day's journey they met with a party of the natives, who appeared much terrified, and instantly ran away from them. One of the party, however, pursued and came up with a woman and child, whom he detained, from an opinion that the men might be thereby induced to return; but, although she remained with them the whole of the night, which she passed in tears and lamentations, not knowing what fate might await her, the men did not appear. They, therefore, made her a present of a small hatchet, and in the morning sent her back to her friends. Wilson, understanding something of the language of these mountain natives, hoped to have gained some information of the country from this woman; but she could not comprehend him.

These natives were all clothed with garments of skins of different animals, which reached from their shoulders down to their heels.

On the 29th, they again travelled 24 miles in the same direction. During the first four miles the country was not good, the ground being rocky and covered with low shrubs, and here and there intersected with creeks, which appeared all to run toward some river, probably to that which from the top of the hill they supposed to be one. At the head of those creeks they saw several falls of water, one of which fell at the least 40 feet, and two others not less than 20 feet each. They now walked to the northward for 12 miles, thinking to get round the heads of the creeks; but unfortunately they fell in with more. They then determined to keep their former course of WSW, but found the country rocky and barren. Here they observed a tree which they had not before noticed, about the size of an apple-tree; the leaves of which were of a lighter blue than the powder blue used in washing, and the bark resembling that of the mahogany tree.¹⁰ They also passed the dung of an animal to appearance as large as that of a horse.

The party were now much exhausted, having had nothing to eat for two days, except one rat, about the size of a kitten. Wilson was able to go forward; but his companions were very unwell, and began to wish themselves back.

On the 30th, they continued for 16 miles in the same direction of WSW. In the course of the day they fell in with the head of a river, very nearly as large as the Hawkesbury, appearing to run from SE to NW.¹¹ Its banks were so rocky and steep that they would have found infinite difficulty in descending them; to which they were strongly invited by the appearance of a level open country on the other side¹²; and Wilson proposed making a canoe to cross over with; but both the others were so faint and tired, having had nothing to eat, in addition to the rat, but two small birds each, that they were afraid to venture. Their shoes being worn out, and their feet cut and bruised by walking so long, they proposed returning.

This being agreed to, on the 1st of this month they steered back in a direction SE by E in which having walked about nine miles, they fell in with many spacious meadows thinly chequered with trees, extending for at least some hundred acres. The hills which they met with were as slightly covered with timber; and what there was, was light. The ground was of a good quality, except on the tops of the hills, where it was stony. Here, for want of food, they were much exhausted, and observed many birds which they had not before seen, but could not approach near enough to shoot.

On the 2nd, their course was ENE through a delightful country, full of capacious meadows, extending for some thousands of acres, with only a single tree here and there.¹³ Some of these meadows were watered by ponds of great length, but they did not perceive any wild fowl on them.¹⁴ From thence, to the SW the country looked well. In the latter part of the day, having passed the first ridge of mountains, they fell in with a vast number of kangaroos, one of which they had the good fortune to kill, and were much refreshed by it.

On the morning of the 3rd, they thought they heard the report of two guns in the SE which they answered; but they were not returned. They were now in that part of the country which Wilson was acquainted with; but it was an unfruitful spot, and badly calculated for travellers in their situation, producing nothing but a few roots and grub worms. They must even here have perished, had it not been for the great exertions made by Wilson, who kept up their spirits by assurances of being near Prospect Hill; which place, after much toil and difficulty, they at length reached, when despairing of living to see it.

This is the sum of the information given by these people. With respect to the direction in which they travelled, that might not be very correct, nor can much reliance be placed on their judgment of the distances which they went in each day. Of the face of the country their account may be more just. Of its inability to support the traveller, their appearance was a most convincing argument: and this narrative of their journey has been detailed so much at length, not only because these people had penetrated farther than any European had ever been before; but to shew the labour, danger, and difficulties, which attended the exploring the interior of this extensive country.

On arranging their courses and distances on paper, they appeared to have travelled in a direction SW three-fourths W about 140 miles from Parramatta. They brought in with them one of the birds which they had named pheasants, but which on examination appeared to be a variety of the Bird of Paradise.

The size of this curious and handsome bird was that of a common hen; the colour a reddish black, the bill long, the legs black and very strong. The tail, about two feet in length, was formed of several feathers, two of which were the principal, having the interior sides

scalloped alternately of a deeper or lighter reddish brown inclining to orange, shading gently into a white or silver colour next the stem, crossing each other, and at the very extremity terminating in a broad black round finishing. The difference of colour in the scallops did not proceed from any precise change in the colour itself, but from the texture of the feather, which was alternately thicker and thinner. The fibres of the outer side of the stem were narrow and of a lead colour. Two other feathers of equal length, and of a blueish or lead colour, lay within those; very narrow, and having fibres only on one side of the stem. Many other feathers of the same length lay within those again, which were of a pale greyish colour, and of the most delicate texture, resembling more the skeleton of a feather than a perfect one.¹⁵ The annexed engraving, from the pencil of a capital artist¹⁶, will give a better idea of this beautiful bird than can be formed from any description.

A general muster took place on the 14th in every district of the colony, at which every labouring man, whether free or convict, was obliged to appear. On the following morning the settlers were called over, previous to which, the governor, who was present, informed them, that he had heard of much discontent prevailing among them in consequence of certain heavy grievances which they said they laboured under. For these, as he was unacquainted with the nature of them, he was unable to suggest any remedy; he therefore desired that they might be represented to him in writing; and, to spare them as much trouble as possible, he would direct two gentlemen on whom he had much dependance to visit the different districts, and collect from the respective settlers such of their distresses and grievances as they were desirous of making known.¹⁷ Before they were dismissed, he gave them much good advice; and assured them, that he had already, from his own ideas, offered a plan to the secretary of state for their benefit, which he hoped would in due time be attended to.¹⁸

After these, the women and children were mustered, and were found to compose a very considerable part of the settlement.

With the ripening of the maize fields, the depredations of the natives returned. On the 19th the governor received a dispatch from Parramatta, containing an account, that a man had been murdered by them near Toongabbie, and three others severely wounded; and a few days after two others were killed in the same manner. It became, from these circumstances, absolutely necessary to send out numerous well-armed parties, and attack them wherever they should be met with; for lenity or forbearance had only been followed by repeated acts of cruelty.

Toward the latter end of the month, Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the *Reliance*, returned from an excursion in an open boat to the southward, after an absence of twelve weeks.¹⁹ This gentleman, who had little to occupy him while his ship was refitting, disliking an idle

MÆNURA SUPERBA



Engraved from a sketch by G. S. S. & J. S. S. from a drawing by G. S. S.

See Plate 100, No. 10

life, possessing with a good constitution a mind and body strong and vigorous, and being endowed with great good sense, ingenuity, and observation, requested the governor to allow him a boat, and permit him to man her with volunteers from the King's ships; proposing to go along the coast, and make such observations as might be in his power. The governor readily consenting, he set out, as well provided as the size of his boat would allow; and in her, against much adverse wind and bad weather, he persevered, as far to the southward as the latitude $40^{\circ} 00'$, visiting every opening in the coast; but only in one place, to the southward and westward of Point Hicks, finding a harbour capable of admitting ships.²⁰ There was every appearance of an extensive strait, or rather an open sea, between the latitudes of 39° and 40° south, and that Van Diemen's land consisted (as had been conjectured) of a group of islands lying off the southern coast of the country.

It appeared from Mr. Bass's account, that there was but very little good ground to the southward. His occasional excursions into the interior, situated as he found himself with an open boat, in which he could carry but a small stock of provisions, could not be very extensive; he, however, went far enough to discover that there was but little good land near the sea; but, had it even been superior to those parts which were known, the want of harbours, even for small vessels, would lessen its value much. He regretted that he had not been possessed of a better vessel, which would have enabled him to circumnavigate Van Diemen's land.

In the *Francis*, which was at this time on her passage to the island where the *Sydney Cove* was wrecked, the governor had sent Lieutenant Flinders of the *Reliance*, a young gentleman well qualified for the purpose, who was instructed to make what observations he was able relative to the anchorage and situation of those islands.²¹

Mr. Bass, on his return, picked up, on an island near the coast, the seven men who, it may be remembered, were a part of those who ran off with a settler's boat, and had been left in this place by their companions. Being utterly incapable of taking them into his boat, he put them upon the main land, furnished them with a part of his provisions for their support, and a gun with some ammunition for their protection. Two who were ill he took into his boat, and left the other five to begin their march to the northward, at the distance of upwards of 400 miles from Port Jackson. They were nearly naked, almost starved, and must inevitably have perished on the island, had not Mr. Bass discovered a smoke that they had made to attract his attention; which he, being at no great distance, took for a smoke made by some natives, and went near to converse with them.

During this month the beams of the third floor of the new wind-mill were laid, and bricks were brought in for the new granary. At

Parramatta the people were employed in preparing for the erection of a granary for Indian corn; which, when finished, would enable the governor to commute a substantial building now employed for a store-house for that grain, into a granary for wheat. Much of this latter article was brought round from the Hawkesbury in this month.

Toward the latter end of the month there was an unusually heavy fall of rain about ten o'clock at night.

CHAPTER X

Pe-mul-wy—Strange idea respecting him—Civil court meets; nature of the business brought before it—Advice of the Governor to the settlers—The Francis returns from Preservation Island—A trusty person sent to look for a salt hill said to be to the westward—The wild cattle seen—A new animal, the Wombat, found; described—Some Irish run-aways give themselves up—A seizure made of timber for Government—Transactions—Weather—April—The criminal court meets—Three men executed—Reflections—Accidents among the stock—Discoveries prosecuted—Settlers and their complaints—An old woman accused of dreaming—Works in hand—Weather

March.]

A STRANGE idea was found to prevail among the natives respecting the savage Pe-mul-wy, which was very likely to prove fatal to him in the end. Both he and they entertained an opinion, that, from his having been frequently wounded, he could not be killed by our fire-arms. Through this fancied security, he was said to be at the head of every party that attacked the maize grounds; and it certainly became expedient to convince them both that he was not endowed with any such extraordinary exemption.

On the 5th, the court of civil judicature was held at Parramatta. Several writs were issued, and prosecutions for debt entered; and on the 7th the court adjourned until the 19th. On that day it met, and continued sitting until the 24th, when all the business before them was concluded.¹ This consisted chiefly of litigation about debts contracted between the retail dealers and the settlers. As a proof to what a height this business had reached, it need only be mentioned, that an appeal was made to the governor in one prosecution for a debt of £868 16s 10d; which appeal was however withdrawn, the defendant consenting to pay the debt.

The governor, having received from the settlers in each district, through the medium of the two gentlemen whom he sent amongst them for that purpose (the Rev. Mr. Marsden, and Mr. Arndell), a clear and correct statement of their grievances and distresses², informed them, that it was with real concern he beheld the effects of the meeting of each civil court, which, for the public accommodation, he from time to time had occasion to assemble. The vast load of debt with which they so frequently felt themselves burdened, through the imposition and extortion of the multitude of petty dealers by whom the colony was so much troubled, with the difficulties under which the industrious man laboured for want of some other mode of providing

the necessities which he required, were grievances of which he was determined to get the better; and, as far as his situation would authorise him, he would adopt every means in his power to afford them relief. To this end he found it absolutely necessary to suppress many of those licensed public houses which, when first permitted, were designed as a convenience to the labouring people; but which he now saw were the principal cause whence many had candidly confessed their ruin to have sprung.

He wished it were possible to dissuade them from heaping such heavy debts upon themselves by the enjoyment of articles which they could do without, or by throwing away their money in purchasing, at every public auction, rags and trifles for which such exorbitant sums were exacted. He urged them, with a paternal anxiety, to consider, that their folly involved their whole families in ruin and misfortune, and conjured them to wait with patience the result of some representations which he had made to government, as well in their behalf, as in behalf of the settlers upon Norfolk Island; by which he hoped that ere long they would have an opportunity of purchasing every European article that they might want at such a reasonable and moderate price as they, by their industry, would be very well able to afford from the produce of their labour.

The island upon which Captain Hamilton had run his ship, and thereby prevented her sinking with them at sea, was thenceforward to be distinguished by the name of Preservation Island. From thence the Colonial schooner had arrived with what remained of the property. As soon as she was unloaded, the property was put up to sale for the benefit of the underwriters; when the little effect of the governor's recommendation of patience was seen, by the most enormous prices being paid for every article. The money that should have been expended in the cultivation and improvement of their farms was thus lavishly thrown away; and it happened, fortunately enough for the underwriters that the wheat of this last season had been received into the public granary, and immediately paid for. Twenty-two shillings were paid at this sale for one common cup and saucer.

Wishing to obtain some further information respecting the salt-hill seen by Wilson and his companions in their late excursion, the governor had sent Henry Hacking thither. At his return he produced some specimens of various veins of salt which he fell in with in different places, of 10 and 12 feet in depth. He reported, that he found the country every where intersected with narrow, but deep and rapid branches of fresh water rivers, over some of which he was obliged to swim; others he was able to ford.

Having been directed to seek for the wild cattle while in their neighbourhood, he reported, that about five or six miles from the place where we usually found them, he suddenly fell in with the

most numerous herd that he had yet seen; in which he counted 170 very distinctly, and afterwards saw a few stragglers. It was some satisfaction to know that they were perfectly safe.

By the *Francis*, the governor received one of the animals on which the people had chiefly lived during their abode on Preservation Island. It was brought to him alive, but thin and faint for want of food, which, owing to its state of confinement on board the vessel, it would never take. It, however, appeared to recover on shore; and, although during the short time it lived, it was not observed to eat during the day, yet there was reason to think it was not so abstemious in the night. It was offered flesh; but this it would not touch, although it was supposed to visit the nests of the puffin which burrowed on the island.

This animal had been found to the southward and south-westward, by Wilson and his companions, who shot one, and, in their want of provisions, might be said to feast upon it. They observed, that it resembled pork in flavour, though not in colour, being red and coarse. It was very fat, as were the kangaroos which they found in the interior; differing in that point very widely from any kangaroos which had been before seen; not a particle of fat having ever been found on one of them.

The mountain natives named this new animal Wombat, and said it was good eating; but it was wholly unknown to those who were admitted into the settlement.³

The men who, in the beginning of January last, had boarded and carried off the boat belonging to Owen Cavanagh, were heard of again. About the latter end of this month, a report was brought in, that a piratical boat was infesting the harbour of Broken Bay, and the Hawkesbury. The day following, the governor received a letter signed by these men, in which they professed to repent of their former conduct, and implored forgiveness. They said, they had been wrecked about 400 miles to the northward, when they with difficulty got on shore, saving as much of the remains of Cavanagh's boat as enabled them to build a smaller, in which they had returned, and surrendered themselves to justice; pretending to have had their eyes opened to the danger with which attempts at desertion from the colony must ever be attended, and promising to convince the minds of their ignorant countrymen that every such attempt must be followed by inevitable ruin. The language of this letter was far above the capacity of any of the party; and the part of their story which related to their building a boat capable of carrying the whole number so great a distance wore very little appearance of probability. The truth was, they had by some means reached as far as Broken Bay, where they had been lurking about for some days; meaning, no doubt, to seize the first boat loaded with grain which they might be able to secure, and then

put off again for as long a time as their provisions would last. They certainly proposed to live by piracy; but not being able with their small boat to come up with any of the boats which they pursued, and being no longer able to exist without provisions, added to the danger they were always in of being pursued and at length taken, they preferred giving themselves up. They were armed with five muskets; and certainly had the will as well as the ability to do a great deal of mischief. They were placed in confinement, and charges preferred against them for piracy.

This was absolutely necessary; as the suffering such offences to pass with impunity would have been productive of the greatest evil. Crimes would have been multiplied on crimes, which the officers who composed the court of criminal judicature would certainly have deemed unnecessary. The utmost vigilance was constantly requisite to guard against robberies both on the land and water. It was impossible, in such a community as this, to have a police too strict, or to be sufficiently aware at all times of such a nest of villains. Many examples had been made; but, after a few days had elapsed, they were forgotten; and every act of lenity or indulgence was found to be ruinous to the welfare and comfort of the whole. It was to be hoped, however, that the introduction of more of the better, and fewer of the worst sort of characters, would in due time give the balance a favourable turn.

In each grant of land to individuals from the crown, there was a clause, expressly reserving for the use of government such of the timber which might be growing thereon as should be deemed fit for naval purposes. The wanton destruction of this timber occasioned the publication of an order in the month of December 1795, prohibiting the cutting it down.⁴ The practice, however, continuing from time to time (for of what avail were orders among such a disorderly set of people), the *Sydney* schooner was sent round to the Hawkesbury, to make a seizure of a quantity of timber that had been cut down by individuals for private sale. This seizure was of some consequence just at this time; as the governor was building a brig to replace the *Supply* (from 125 to 150 tons burden), which had been condemned by survey as totally unfit for the future service of the settlement, and a large boat, a new Cumberland, in the room of that which had been taken away by the crew. The colony was at this time in such want of naval stores of every kind, that the ruin of all the floating craft, so lately in good condition, was nearly effected. The bottoms of the boats were destroyed by the worms, for want of pitch, tar, paint, and oil; and in order to enable the Colonial schooner to proceed to Norfolk Island (for which place she was preparing to sail, in company with the *Reliance*), it had been necessary to reduce part of the *Supply's* sails, and convert them to her use.

Arrivals from England, with provisions as well as stores, were now rather anxiously expected, as 16 months had elapsed since the last were received. Public works of all kinds went on slowly; the servants of government being but few in proportion to the labour to be performed by them, and all kinds of implements bad in quality, and scarce. A few slops were served to the male convicts in the beginning of this month, they being nearly naked, and the store unable to supply them with covering.

The tower of the new wind-mill was, under all these disadvantages, completed, and the machinery put in hand. This tower was of large dimensions, being 30 feet in height, and erected on a rock which was considerably higher than the surrounding ground. The wheel was four feet in thickness, and the diameter within was 20 feet.

There was very little intermission of rain, thunder, and lightning, during the whole of the month.

April.] This month opened with a necessary act of justice. Five men were capitally convicted, before the court of criminal judicature, of seizing two boats, the property of individuals, with an intent of escaping from the colony. One man was capitally convicted of a robbery; three were transported to Norfolk Island for 14 years; one for 7; one was adjudged corporal punishment, and one acquitted.

Two of the five that were condemned for seizing the boats suffered death at Sydney, after a week's preparation for that awful moment. Their companions were respited at the place of execution. They were all extremely penitent, confessed the justice of their sentence, and acknowledged how much mischief they had done, and how much more they meditated, had they not been overtaken by justice.⁵

One man, for robbery, was executed at Parramatta, George Mitton, who certainly was a very fit subject for an example. He had been twice pardoned when under sentence of death; once in Ireland; and once in this country, by the present governor, for an offence similar to that for which he now suffered.

These melancholy instances, had they been properly attended to, must have shewn to the convicts not only the difficulty which accompanied every attempt to escape privately from the colony, and the danger to which those who made the trial exposed themselves, but the certainty of meeting that punishment which the various crimes that they committed on such occasions so highly merited. The governor, in an order which he now published, was desirous of calling back to the recollection of these misguided people, who had been, either through ignorance, or through the profligacy of their dispositions, so readily prevailed upon to engage in such dangerous enterprises, that they would find an attention to the advice which he had so often given them the most effectual means of ensuring their real happiness. They would also recollect, that an information was given him on

the 19th of January last⁶, in which he appeared to have foreseen, and had pointed out to those piratical gangs who wished to make their escape from hence, what would be the fate of those who were of least use to the general plan of such gangs, that they would probably, if in danger at sea in their boat, be thrown overboard to lighten her, or be landed on some part of the coast, where, beyond a doubt, they would perish. How far this prediction had been verified, those who were concerned in taking off the settlers' boat, and who might now be in the settlement, could best tell. It was well known, that they had treacherously left seven men upon a desolate island far to the southward, where they must have perished for want, had they not been discovered in a most miraculous manner. He wished those facts to be impressed upon the minds of the whole colony; they would then probably discover in what their real interest consisted, and on what their true happiness depended. To be honest and industrious had been often shewn to be the most certain means of procuring those blessings.

Mitton, before he was executed, confessed in a moment of penitence, that many robberies had been concerted, and were to have been committed by him and some others. He mentioned, as their chief instigator upon these occasions, a woman of the name of Robley (the wife of a blacksmith at Sydney), who received all the property which they might collect in this way. Dreading this discovery, she found it convenient to offer to accuse others, or she would inevitably have been convicted herself.⁷

It was reported by a native woman from the Hawkesbury, that she had seen the two mares which were stolen some time since from Parramatta, and that they were in the neighbourhood of that river. She also mentioned, that one of the men who went off with them had been killed by the natives, and that the other had perished with hunger.

The proprietors of this valuable article of stock were rather unfortunate in the care of it, notwithstanding the high price which it bore. The acting commissary⁸ lost a very fine mare, through the stupidity of an Irish servant, who put a short halter round her neck, with a running knot, by which she was strangled in the night; and information had been received of the death of two foals belonging to government. This accident proceeded from want of proper care in those who were appointed to look after them; but unfortunately, though they were often changed, the change was never found to be for the better.

When Hacking was sent to the salt-hill in the preceding month, he was accompanied by Wilson and another man, who were directed to penetrate as far into the interior of the country as the provisions which they were able to carry would permit them. They returned after an absence of three weeks, and reported that they had been

about 140 miles in a direction SW by S from Prospect Hill. In the course of their journey they travelled over a vast variety of country, and fell in with more salt-hills. They also met with many narrow rivers or creeks (with which the country appeared to be much intersected), and found some very extensive tracts of open luxuriant ground, as well as much unpromising land. They ascended several hills of great height, from which their prospect was extensive, and whence they discovered mountains rising upon mountains to the westward; all of which appeared exceedingly high. They did not, however, meet a single native in all their journey (a proof that the human race was but thinly scattered over the interior part of this extensive country); but they brought with them another of those beautiful birds before described.⁹

Wishing to ascertain the truth of every report that tended to improve our knowledge of the internal advantages which this country possessed, the governor sent a small party, with some natives, to determine whether there was any salt in the neighbourhood of Broken Bay. Captain Waterhouse (of the *Reliance*), who undertook the search, found the place that had been described, and also discovered some salt; but it had been produced by the spray of the sea near which it laid, and which, breaking over some rocky parts of the shore in bad weather, and draining down behind, had occasioned the accumulation of a large quantity of that article among the sand, and upon the adjacent rocks.

The settlers, although certainly undeserving of the attention which they met with from the governor, were constantly laying their complaints before him. He now received a petition from them, in which they represented the great distress that they laboured under, as well from the high wages which they gave to hired servants for working their ground, as from the immense price which they paid for every article necessary to carry on that business. On this account, they requested that the price of maize might be continued at the same rate as in the last year.¹⁰

The governor, sensible of their distresses, and ever ready to listen to any reasonable application which those distresses might induce them to make, gave directions to the commissary to receive it at the price which they petitioned for. But, as it was no less his duty to diminish the heavy expenses of the colony, than it was his wish to render the situation of the industrious farmer easy and comfortable, they were informed, that they must very shortly look forward to a reduction in the price of grain of every kind.

They laboured, however, under another evil, which was the effect of an unbounded rage for traffic that pervaded nearly the whole settlement. The delivery of grain into the public storehouses, when open for that purpose, was so completely monopolised, that the settlers had but few opportunities of getting the full value for their crops.

A few words will place this iniquitous combination in its proper light. The settler found himself thrust out from the granary, by a man whose greater opulence created greater influence. He was then driven by his necessities to dispose of his grain for less than half its value. To whom did he dispose of it! to the very man whose greater opulence enabled him to purchase it, and whose greater influence could get it received into the public store!¹¹

Orders had been repeatedly issued on this very subject, the store-keepers being most pointedly directed to give the preference to the man whose grain was the produce of his own labour; and if any favour were shown, to let it be to the poor but industrious settler who might be encumbered with a large family. But these necessary and humane directions had been too often frustrated by circumstances which were carefully kept from the knowledge of the governor; it was, however, proved to him, that on occasion of the store at the Hawkesbury being opened for the reception of 1500 bushels of wheat, the whole was engrossed by two or three of these opulent traders, to the exclusion and injury of others, and the petty farmers in general. The storekeeper was not dismissed, because a better might not have been found; but the governor directed, that half the quantity of wheat thus partially and improperly put in should be taken away, and room made for the accommodation of the settlers.¹²

A report prevailed at this time among the labouring people, particularly the Irish, who were always foremost in every mischief and discontent, that an old woman had prophesied the arrival of several French frigates, or larger ships of war, who were, after destroying the settlement, to liberate and take off the whole of the convicts. The rapidity with which this ridiculous tale was circulated is incredible. The effect was such as might have been expected. One refractory fellow, while working in a numerous gang at Toongabbie, threw down his hoe, advanced before the rest, and gave three cheers for liberty. This for a while seemed well received; but, a magistrate fortunately being at hand, the business was put an end to, by securing the advocate for liberty, tying him up in the field, and giving him a severe flogging.

A few days after he had been informed of this circumstance, the governor visited the working gangs at Toongabbie. On his return to Parramatta, he met the prophetess upon the road, a very old Scotch woman, who, as soon as she discovered the governor, held up her hands, and begged that he would listen to her for a few minutes, while she would endeavour to contradict the malicious reports which had been propagated in her name.¹³ She said, that she had heard that he was offended with her; which he assured her depended upon the truth of the information which he had received. This, she was anxious to convince him, was totally false, and had proceeded from a bad man, who, as she made a little beer, and sold it to the labouring

people, had called for some one day at her hut, and entered into conversation with her about the expected arrival of ships with stores from England. This induced the old woman to recount a dream which she had had the night before, and from which she was led to hope that ships would soon arrive. Out of this conversation and dream, a story had been fabricated, purporting that this harmless old creature had prophesied many extraordinary things; so that she had the credit of all the absurd and extravagant additions which some designing and wicked villains had made to the original story.

The governor told her that he saw through the whole business, and desired that she would no longer be uneasy about the impression which the first account had made upon him. With this condescension she appeared to be highly gratified; for she had been under much distress and vexation before she met with this accidental opportunity of showing him from whence this mischievous story had originated.

The timber for the new windmill was brought in during this month; and the floor of the government house having given way, the carpenters were employed to repair it.

Arrivals from England were now hourly expected, as strong gales had blown for some time from the southward.

CHAPTER XI

Some Irishmen providentially saved from perishing—The Nautilus arrives from Otaheite—Missionaries—Order respecting the sawyers—The Barwell arrives with convicts—A judge advocate sent out—Information—The Reliance and schooner sail for Norfolk Island—Information sent thither—Natives—Works and weather in May—June—Ground fixed on for the missionaries—The Hunter arrives from Bengal—Regulations—The commander of the Sydney Cove dies—A decked boat arrives from Norfolk Island—Maize harvest completed—Weather

May.]

IN the afternoon of the 2nd of this month, certain Irishmen, who had been for some time employed in searching for a road to China (that delirium still remaining unsubdued among them), were brought in by one of the settlers upon George's river. They had been wandering through the woods, until they were near perishing for want of food, and were discovered in a most unlooked-for manner. Some people in going from Botany Bay up George's river had lost their way, the weather being exceedingly hazy, by following a branch of that river which had never been looked into. By this mistake, they fell in with these people, whose ignorance of the country had led them down upon a point of land which was placed between two waters, where they had been for nine days, unable to find their way back, and must soon have perished, had it not been for the accidental mistake of the people in the boat. The account which they gave of their travels and distresses was not worth giving a place to here, being nothing more than what might be conjectured.

It was hoped, however, that their appearance, for they were weak and languid when brought in, together with their story, would teach their countrymen a little more wisdom.

While such vagabonds as these were roaming about the country, the safety of the stock was much endangered. A fine bull calf belonging to an officer was about this time taken from the herd; and, though considerable rewards were offered for the discovery of the offender, nothing transpired that could lead to it. This was a serious evil; for the care and attention of years might in one night's time be destroyed, by the villainy of a few of these lawless people. It was, however, visible that the improvement which had taken place in the civil police within the last two years had considerably checked the commission of robberies of every kind.¹

In the evening of the 14th, a small brig, the *Nautilus*, arrived from

the island of Otaheite, in very great distress. This little vessel had been unfortunate in losing her passage to the NW coast of America, and had been at Kamschatka, the Sandwich Islands, and Otaheite. Being exceedingly infirm and worn out, the master found it impossible to effect the repairs which his vessel wanted at either of those places, and had touched at Otaheite for such refreshment as the crew required, determining to endeavour in their very leaky condition to reach this port, where they hoped to receive such assistance as might enable them to get to India.

On their arrival at Otaheite, they found that the missionaries, who had been sent thither from England for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion, were not on so comfortable a footing with the natives as could have been wished, being in a manner shut up within their little fortress. The natives had made use of threats, and had signified an intention of taking off their women (several of the missionaries having been accompanied by their wives and families). The arrival at Otaheite of this little vessel in some degree relieved them from the anxiety under which they had for some time laboured, and they determined to quit the island in her, if it should be practicable. Her commander, Mr. Bishop, showed them every attention which the shattered state of the brig would admit; embarked men, women, and children, to the number of 19; and, though with infinite difficulty, brought them in safety to this port, the vessel being so extremely leaky, that it required the labour of the whole company to keep her above water. She was not able to bring them all away, six or seven remaining upon the island, whose fate was certainly very precarious. Those who had arrived were treated by the colonists with every attention, and every possible relief administered to their distresses.²

The deceptions and impositions which were daily in practice among the labouring part of the colony, to the great injury of the concerns of government, rendered it highly expedient that the governor, who had those concerns to attend to, should be assisted by trusty and active persons in every situation where public works might be carrying on. Having made some discoveries of this nature in the department of the sawyers, he issued a public order, specifying the hours which should be employed in every branch of public labour. This had by no means been the first attempt to check the impositions of these people; but it was found, that the private concerns of those who should superintend the various public works occupied so much of their time, that their duty was either wholly neglected or carelessly performed. This created such a relaxation of discipline, that a repetition of orders and regulations were from time to time published, to keep the labouring people constantly in mind that they were the servants of the crown, and remind those who were appointed to look after them, that they had neglected that duty which should ever have been their first and principal consideration.

The expected signal for a vessel was at length made at the South Head on the morning of the 18th; and in the afternoon the ship *Barwell* arrived from England, with male convicts, some stores, and provisions.³ It must be supposed, that while the mother country was engaged in such a war as then subsisted, she would not spare from the service of the state any other than the most worthless characters, who, instead of assisting in the public defence against the common enemy, were employed in perpetrating private injuries. The weakness of the public gangs, however, was such, that this allotment of villainy was considered as an acquisition to the general strength, and it was hoped that they might be employed to advantage.

The *Barwell*, touching at the Cape of Good Hope, brought an account of the loss of the *Lady Shore* transport in her passage to this settlement, having on board about 60 convicts, three only of whom were males, and a large assortment of all kinds of stores which had been so long and so much wanted. There was also a complete company of recruits for the New South Wales Corps on board, to whom was owing the loss of the ship; for, after murdering the commander, Mr. Wilcox, and his first mate, they took possession of the ship, and carried her into Rio de la Plata, where she was delivered up to the Spaniards. This ship, besides the public stores, had a great deal of private property on board, and was a serious loss to the colony.⁴

It will be seen, by referring to the former account of this settlement, that an accident happened to his Majesty's ship the *Guardian*, whereby much public and private property was prevented from reaching the settlement. This made only the second misfortune that had happened to ships coming from England in the course of 11 years; and, when it is considered, that the major part of them were filled with people who would have run any hazard rather than reach the place of their destination, it may be matter of surprise and satisfaction that so few had occurred.

In the *Barwell* arrived another judge-advocate*⁵, in the room of Captain Collins, who had resigned that situation. It was also signified, that two ships, the *Buffalo* and the *Porpoise*, were fitting for the service of the colony in the room of the *Reliance* and the *Supply*.

Instructions had also been received from his Majesty's ministers by the governor, upon some points on which he had requested orders, particularly relative to the number of labouring people who had for such a length of time been allowed to the civil and military officers at the public expense. By these instructions, the number was now limited to two; and such others as they might be disposed to employ were to be maintained and clothed by their employers; or, if fed and clothed at the public expense, to be paid for to government at

* Mr. Richard Dore.

a certain rate, which payment might be made in the produce of the farms that they were employed to cultivate.⁶

The distance at which the settlement was placed from the mother country was such, that the victories of one year were succeeded by those of another before the fame of them reached the colony. By this ship accounts were first received of the complete victory gained by the superior abilities of Earl St. Vincent over the Spanish fleet⁷, and of the brilliant conquest of the Dutch fleet obtained by Lord Duncan.⁸

Among the convicts who were received by the *Barwell* were some useful mechanics; a real acquisition, as the governor would thereby be enabled to discharge some free people, whom he had been obliged to hire for various necessary and unavoidable purposes.

On the 29th, the *Reliance* and *Francis* schooner sailed for Norfolk Island, carrying with them such a proportion of the stores received by the *Barwell* as could be spared. On board of the *Reliance* were sent 100 casks of salt provisions, and 1200 bushels of wheat, an article to which the soil and temperature of the island was not favourable.

As the governor had received several petitions and complaints from the settlers there⁹, he caused the following order to be printed and sent thither for their information:

From the nature of the difficulties of which the settlers upon Norfolk Island have complained, difficulties which have not until very lately been known to have an existence, the governor is led to suspect, that the same rage for traffic, and an intemperate indulgence in some of those destructive gratifications which have so effectually ruined many of the most forward and promising settlers in New South Wales, have reached Norfolk Island.

His Excellency, from an earnest desire to promote the prosperity of the island, and the true happiness of its inhabitants, has, since his arrival in this country, availed himself of every opportunity of forwarding for their accommodation a share of such little comforts, as accidental ships may have brought hither. But he is sorry to observe, that, instead of those attentions being felt as an advantage, they appear only to operate as an incitement to more extensive dealings; a circumstance which he foresees must end in the ruin of many of the settlers, for whose welfare he is extremely anxious. He therefore urges them not to be led away from their real interest, by speculative ideas, or a desire of indulging in dangerous gratifications, squandering the whole produce of their hard labour in trifles, or in scenes of dissipation which must eventually end in their complete ruin. He desires that they will persevere with patience in the management of their farms, and the rearing of stock; and assures them, that he has taken such steps as he hopes will incline the government

to consider the inconveniences which are sustained in this distant part of the world, and induce them to adopt such measures as will procure the colonists, before long, every European article that they may have occasion for at a very moderate expense; and by that means put an effectual stop to the impositions under which the industrious settlers have too long laboured.¹⁰

Toward the latter end of the month, the settlers at the northern farms were much annoyed by the natives, who came down in a body, and burnt several of their houses. This was the more unfortunate, as those farms appeared to have had some industry bestowed upon them; and it had not been thrown away; for the land was of a superior quality, and the surrounding country exceedingly picturesque and well-adapted for cultivation.

The bricklayers were not idle during this month at the new granary at Sydney, and were also employed in erecting a house for the master boat-builder. The timber carriages drawn by oxen were employed in bringing in the beams and joists for the new granary; and a gang was sent up the harbour to cut crooked timber for the boat-builder. The maize granary at Parramatta was also in a state of forwardness.

On the 14th there was a squall of wind from the southward, attended with a shower of hail stones of an uncommon size, many of them measuring six inches in circumference, and appearing to be an accumulation of smaller hail stones, which had adhered together by the intensity of the cold in the higher region of the air, until they became of the above size. Much rain fell in this month.

June.] His Majesty's birthday was observed on the 4th, with all the respect and attention which were so peculiarly its due.

On the 6th, the governor went up to Parramatta, in order to travel into the northern district in search of a proper place for settling as farmers such of the missionaries, lately arrived from Otaheite, as were disposed to continue in the settlement. He also proposed to fix there some free settlers* who had been lately sent out by the government, if he should find a sufficiency of good ground.¹¹ On a minute examination of the country, he had every reason to pronounce it superior to any that had been yet seen, and in quantity equal to the establishment of several families. The land was not only good and well watered, but every where easily cleared, and at the convenient distance of five or six miles from Parramatta. Being satisfied with the eligibility of the situation, he recommended it to the missionaries; but some of them appeared so undetermined, that there was reason to believe some officious person had been giving them advice which might not

* Of this description of people four had arrived, with their families, in the *Barwell*.

terminate to their advantage. A few, however, resolved to settle there, and received such a proportion of tools, grain, and assistance, as could be spared them.¹²

The house of Campbell and Clarke at Calcutta, not discouraged by the fate of their unfortunate ship, the *Sydney Cove* (of which they were the proprietors), fitted out another, a snow, which, in compliment to the governor, they named the *Hunter*, and sent her down with an assortment of India goods, and a few cows and horses.¹³ She arrived on the 10th of this month; when the governor, to crush as much as possible the spirit of monopoly which had so long subsisted, gave public notice that a ship had arrived from Bengal with a cargo of goods for sale; and, in order that every inhabitant might have an opportunity of purchasing whatever his circumstances might afford, he gave directions, that no part of the cargo should be disposed of, until the settlers in the different districts had stated to him what sums of money they could severally raise. A day was fixed for them to give in this account; and it was recommended to them to choose some person capable of managing their concerns, and in whose hands they could deposit their money, which, it was to be understood, must be in government notes then in their possession, and not those which they could purchase upon the strength of their crops.¹⁴

It was also ordered, that no boat or person whatsoever should attempt to board any ship arriving in the harbour, until she should be properly secured in the Cove, and the master had been with the governor and received the port orders. The pilot-boat, or such other as might be sent with an officer to bring up the public dispatches, were not included in this regulation, which certainly, with the preceding, seemed calculated more for general than private advantage.

Captain Hamilton, the commander of the *Sydney Cove*, survived the arrival of the *Hunter* but a few days. He never recovered from the distresses and hardships which he suffered on the loss of his ship, and died exceedingly regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Many complaints having been made, that the people who were employed in bringing grain upon freight from the Hawkesbury to Sydney were in the habit of practising a variety of impositions upon the farmers, and among others by the use of false measures, the governor, desirous to put an early stop to such a species of robbery, directed the magistrates of Sydney and Parramatta to issue their orders for all measures to be forthwith brought to the public store at Sydney, there to be proved and marked; and to signify, that any measure which might be used without such mark would subject the owner to a prosecution.¹⁵

How perpetually was invention at work on the one hand to impose, and on the other to provide a remedy against the evil! No one, from the picture of his arduous situation which these and the preceding

pages have held up, will envy the office of the governor, or of those officers who supported his authority, or think that they cheaply earned the salaries that they were allowed.

The necessity of a vessel to keep up a more frequent intercourse with Norfolk Island, having been much felt by the want of various stores for the use of the inhabitants, occasioned Captain Townson, the commanding officer, to construct a small decked boat, sloop rigged, in which he sent his letters to this port, where she arrived on the 15th; but through the want of a harbour at that island, a want that must ever be felt, they were obliged to launch her from the shore, and proceed immediately to sea, whether she was sufficiently tight or not. The consequence was, that she proved very leaky; but with two pumps, which they fortunately had fitted on board her, they were able to keep the water under.*¹⁶

The maize harvest on the part of government was all got in during this month; but some of the new buildings were rather retarded by the rain which fell toward the latter end of it.

* A man upon the island had sufficient ingenuity to make a quadrant for navigating this vessel.

CHAPTER XII

Three southern whalers arrive, and an American from the Isle of France—A transport with female convicts arrives from England, and the Reliance from Norfolk Island—Information—John Raynor executed—Profligacy of the female part of the settlement—August—Civil regulations—The sabbath neglected—Attendance enforced—Two whalers arrive—Public works—A native girl killed—Consequences—An extraordinary custom among them—September—The Barwell sails for China, and the Hunter for New Zealand—The bones of two horses found—Whalers sail—Public works—Weather—Fears for the approaching harvest

July.]

THE month opened with the arrival of the *Cornwall*, Southern whaler, the master of which brought an account, that some Spanish cruisers having appeared off Cape Horn, the whalers of the southern fishery were directed to pass into these seas during the war. This ship was directly followed by two others, the *Eliza* from the Cape of Good Hope, and the *Sally*.

This circumstance was likely to be attended with some advantages to the settlement. The whale fishing on the coast would be effectually tried, and the position of shoals, or the existence of harbours or rivers, be ascertained.

Having in a few days refitted their ships, the three whalers sailed upon their fishing voyages.

Previous to their departure, the *Argo*, a small American schooner, arrived, last from the Isle of France, having on board a cargo of salt provisions, some French brandy, and other articles, upon speculation; all of which was brought to a good market. From the circumstance of this ship's coming from the Mauritius, the governor entertained some jealousy; and, as it was not impossible or improbable but that, under neutral colours, a spy might be concealed, he judged it necessary to put the battery on Point Maskelyne into a more secure and respectable state, and to construct two redoubts in proper and convenient situations.¹

The ready sale which the speculators who called here constantly found for their cargoes, together with the ruinous traffic which was carried on by means of the monopolies that existed in opposition to every order and endeavour to prevent them, would, beyond a doubt, without the establishment of a public store on the part of government, keep the settlers and others in a continual state of beggary, and extremely retard the progressive improvement of the colony.

On the 18th arrived the *Britannia* whaler from England, with 94

female convicts, who were forthwith landed, and some of them were sent to Parramatta and Toongabbie. The cattle that were brought in the *Hunter*, and which were sold by auction at this time, were not greater objects of contest than were these females, the number of women in the settlements bearing no proportion to the men.

The *Reliance* and *Francis* schooner, which had been sent to Norfolk Island at the latter end of May, returned the 25th and 27th of this month, having been absent on that service about 60 days, 27 of which were taken up by the *Reliance* on her passage back, she meeting with blowing weather and much sea the whole way.

By her, the officer commanding on the island wrote, that a most improper association had been entered into by the settlers and others which they termed the Fraternal Society of Norfolk Island; and which, among others, had for its object the uniting for the purpose of distressing the government, by withholding the produce of their farms from the store; in consequence of some misconduct on the part of the storekeepers, who suffered the same monopoly to take place there, as was complained of in New South Wales. They wrote at the same time to the governor, positively denying their giving any name to their meeting but heavily complaining; that, after much expense and trouble in rearing swine, the storekeepers would not receive it.

The governor highly censured this manner of assembling, and, in a printed notice which he sent thither, pointed out to the inhabitants, that if they felt themselves labouring under any grievance real or supposed, they were to submit their complaints respectfully to the officer in the direction of the settlement, by one or two persons chosen for that purpose, and not by a numerous body of people. Every other mode of procuring redress was highly illegal, and could only tend to expose those who might be concerned to a very considerable degree of danger.²

It was necessary to assemble the court of criminal judicature once in this month for the trial of an incorrigible offender, John Raynor, who was convicted of house-breaking, and whose fate had been often merited and long predicted. He left a letter, previous to his execution, in which he enumerated the many offences that he had committed, and denied several with which he had been charged.³

Great complaints were now made of the profligacy of the women; who, probably from having met with more indulgence on account of their sex than their general conduct entitled them to, were grown so idle and insolent, that they were unwilling to do any thing but nurse their children; an excuse from labour which very few were without. Were their value to be estimated by the fine children with which they had increased and multiplied the numbers in the settlement, they certainly would have been found to deserve every care and attention

as useful members of society; but their vices were too conspicuous and prominent to admit of much palliation.

The heavy rains which had fallen in part of this and the preceding month having very much damaged the public road between Sydney and Parramatta, two gangs were employed in repairing them. The weather was much colder than common at this season, and in the interior part of the country there was a sharp frost during the night.

August.] An order having been given in the beginning of the month for assembling the court of civil judicature, a recommendation to the inhabitants was added, that when any bargain, contract, or agreement, was made, between any party or parties, on any subject whatsoever, the same should be reduced to writing, specifying in direct and clear terms what the nature of such bargain or contract might be, and causing the same to be properly witnessed, and subscribed by the parties concerned. This measure was calculated to prevent disputes, litigation, and misunderstandings, among the inhabitants, as well as to do away the great inconvenience which the members of the court experienced every time they were convened, from the loose and careless manner in which business was brought before them.⁴

On the 1st day of this month the regulation directed by government, relative to the number of public servants which the officers were allowed to retain, was put in force.⁵

The abandoned and dissipated disposition of most of those who were or had been convicts, so much to be regretted and so often mentioned, was particularly manifest in a shameful abuse of the Sabbath, and a profane ridicule with which every thing sacred was treated. A conduct so derogatory to every christian principle had from time to time been severely reprobated; but it had now arrived at a height that called for the exertion of every advocate for morality to subdue. Observing, that, instead of employing the Sunday in the performance of those duties for which that day was set apart, it was passed in the indulgence of every abominable act of dissipation, the overseers of the different gangs were strictly ordered to see their men mustered every Sunday morning, and to attend with them at church. The superintendants and constables were to see this order complied with, and that the women (who, to their disgrace, were far worse than the men) were strictly looked after and made to attend divine service regularly. And, as example might do something, the officers were not only to send a certain number of their servants, but they were also called upon, civil and military, to assist in the execution of this order; to the meaning of which, the magistrates were required in a particular degree to pay their attention, in compelling a due obedience thereto, by preventing the opening of the licensed public houses during the hours of divine service as well as any irregularity on the day appropriated to the performance thereof.⁶

In the evening of the 20th, the *Pomona* and *Diana*, whalers belonging to the southern fishery, anchored in the Cove. They brought an account of much disturbance and disaffection in Ireland.⁷ Too much of the same evil spirit seemed to prevail here among the late importations from that kingdom.

Wishing to have that part of the coast examined in which a strait was supposed to exist (between the latitude of 39° 00' S and the land hitherto deemed the southern Promontory of New Holland, and called Van Diemen's land), the governor resolved on sending Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass of the *Reliance* on that service, in the *Norfolk*, the small decked boat which had lately arrived from Norfolk Island, and began fitting her properly for the voyage.⁸

The battery on Point Maskelyne was nearly completed in this month. A few carpenters were employed in laying a floor in Government House, and other repairs; but several of the public works were nearly at a stand, many of the sawyers being in the hospital. The powder magazine having been found upon examination to be in a very insecure and dangerous state, the powder was taken out and sent on board the *Supply*. This removal was the more necessary, as an attempt had been made to open the door of the magazine in the night. The weather was bad; and it was supposed that the sentinel, whose box was thrown down and broken, had endeavoured to shelter himself in the magazine.

The agricultural hands were employed in breaking up ground for maize in the vicinity of Parramatta, and others were endeavouring to prepare materials for a water-mill there.

The natives about this time excited a great deal of interest.

A young woman (nearly related to Bennillong), who had resided from her infancy in the settlement, was most inhumanly murdered; and a native of the Botany Bay district had driven a spear through the body of the lad Nanbarrey. The name of the good-tempered girl (for such she was) was War-re-weer; but, to distinguish her from others of the same name, an addition was given to her in the settlement from a personal defect that she had. Being blind of one eye, she was called War-re-weer Wo-gul Mi, the latter words signifying one eye. The circumstance of this girl's being killed, and Nanbarrey wounded, occasioned much violence on the part of their friends and relations, of which number were Cole-be and Bennillong; the former of whom, falling in with the man who had wounded the boy, revenged his treatment of him so fully that he died of his wounds the following morning. Bennillong, in consequence of this, was attacked, when alone, by two men; when he defended himself with much address, and would have defied and foiled them both, had they kept fairly and openly in his front; but one of them, with the treachery common to those savage people, contrived to skulk behind, and throw a spear into his side, the weapon penetrating seven inches into the cavity of his body, and, from its direction, being supposed to

have wounded the intestines. He was taken on board the *Reliance*, where at first the wound was attended with some unfavourable symptoms, nothing remaining upon his stomach.

Gaining every day some further knowledge of the inhuman habits and customs of these people, their being so thinly scattered through the country ceased to be a matter of surprise. It was almost daily seen, that from some trifling cause or other they were continually living in a state of warfare; to this must be added their brutal treatment of their women, who are themselves equally destructive to the measure of population, by the horrid and cruel custom of endeavouring to cause a miscarriage, which their female acquaintance effect by pressing the body in such a way, as to destroy the infant in the womb; which violence not infrequently occasions the death of the unnatural mother also. To this they have recourse, to avoid the trouble of carrying the infant about when born, which, when it is very young, or at the breast, is the duty of the woman. The operation for this destructive purpose is termed Mee-brá. The burying an infant (when at the breast) with the mother*, if she should die, is another shocking cause of the thinness of population among them. The fact that such an operation as the Mee-brá was practised by these wretched people was communicated by one of the natives to the principal surgeon of the settlement.

The death of the young man who was slain by Cole-be was to be revenged, and a body of the southern or Tag-a-ry natives gave battle to those of Sydney for that purpose several days after. The contest was carried on with much desperation on both sides; three natives were killed, and several others wounded, among whom was Bennillong, who, having perfectly recovered of his late dangerous wound, appeared and fought on this occasion as the friend of Cole-be.

The weather in the last month was remarked to be uncommonly cold. In the latter part of this it was excessively sultry, and the wind high, which set many parts of the country on fire, and destroyed some property. The surveyor-general's house, and every article in it, was consumed by one of these conflagrations.⁹

September.] The *Barwell* being ready for sea, she dropped down the harbour on the 12th, and sailed the 17th of this month for China. Captain Cameron, her commander, was allowed to receive on board about 50 persons who had completed their period of transportation, and politely offered to touch at Norfolk Island, for the purpose of landing any people whom the governor might have occasion to send thither. In this ship Mr. Robert Campbell, who arrived here in the *Hunter* from Bengal, took his passage to China. By this gentleman the governor addressed a letter to the governor-general of India, inform-

* See Vol. I p 504.

ing his lordship, that having transmitted to the Secretary of State copies of the letters upon the subject of raising recruits in this country for the army in India, which had been received in the year 1796*, by the officers who were sent from Calcutta in the *Britannia*, it was the opinion of his Majesty's ministers, that the inconveniences attending such a measure would more than counter-balance the advantages of it, and that permission for that purpose could not therefore be granted.¹⁰

Indeed, had it been adopted, the army in India could not have been much benefited; since, if the recruiting officers were nice as to the point of character, small would be the number of their recruits, and, if not overnice in this particular, small would be the portion of morality that they would introduce.

In order to encourage as far as possible the rearing of swine in the colony, as well as of every other kind of live stock, a circumstance that must not only prove a great benefit to the public, but be also highly to the advantage of those who devoted a part of their time to this useful purpose, and which, from the advanced state of the private farms, might now be done with far less trouble and expense than formerly, the settlers and others were informed, that when any individual should have prepared a number of such animals fit for the public store, they might make the same known to the commissary, who, in order to prevent any unnecessary expense to the feeder, would give immediate notice of the day and place when and where he would receive them. He was also at liberty to enter into an agreement or contract for a certain length of time, and on such conditions as should be agreed, with any person who would engage to furnish the public store either at Sydney, Parramatta, or the Hawkesbury, with any certain quantity at stated periods.¹¹

The commander of the *Hunter* snow, Mr. Fern, having found, like most of those who had preceded him, that a voyage to New South Wales was not a bad speculation, resolved on deriving some profit from his return. It was understood at his departure, which was on the 20th, that he was bound for New Zealand, for the purpose of cutting spars to load with back to Bengal.[†]

Two men, who had been exploring the country to the northwest of Richmond Hill and of the river Hawkesbury, fell in with the bones of two mares which had been stolen some time since from Parramatta.

* See Vol I p 395.

† Mr. Robert Campbell, who returned some time after to Port Jackson, mentioned, that Captain Fern proceeded to the river Thames in New Zealand, where his people cut down a quantity of very fine spars, sufficient to load his vessel; but, being rather short of hands, he could not have shipped them, had not the natives with much alacrity and good humour assisted his people in getting them to the water's side. See Vol I p 343.

It was very probable, that the people who stole them had, after some time and experience, found that travelling was not quite so practicable in this country as they had imagined, and that, not being able to procure a supply of food, they had been compelled by hunger to the necessity of destroying their cattle, and living upon them as long as they could possibly eat of them; after which they, no doubt, followed such route as their judgment was capable of pointing out; but, unfortunately for them, they could not have known which way they went. The bones of the mares, the heads of which the men brought in to prevent any doubt of their story, were found at not more than a good day's journey from the Hawkesbury, which river they had no doubt crossed at one of its branches higher up, where there are many fordable places.

Some of the whalers that were in the harbour, proceeding on their fishery, the town was freed from the nuisance of their seamen, who could not resist the two temptations, spirits and women, so peculiarly calculated every where to lead them astray. The masters of the ships made many complaints that they could not keep their people on board.

At Sydney the walls of the granary were completed, and part of the roof got up. The battery also was finished.

The weather during the month had been so very sultry and dry, that there was every appearance of being completely disappointed in the sanguine expectations which had been entertained of a most abundant wheat harvest. The pasture and garden grounds also were suffering exceedingly through want of rain.

CHAPTER XIII

The Semiramis arrives from Rhode Island—The church at Sydney burnt—Reflections—Some vessels sail; the Norfolk for Van Diemen's Land; the Francis for Norfolk Island—Another fire in the town—A ship arrives from the Cape with cattle—Works in hand—Bennillong—The Governor's steward destroys himself—An order respecting the women—A battery erected—Weather—State of the harvest—Irish—The Francis returns; and the Nautilus—The Eliza from sea—Information—Three deaths—One good character recorded—Disorders—Public works—Great heat—Returns of stock, and land in cultivation

October.]

ANOTHER adventurer entered the port on the 1st of this month, viz the *Semiramis* from Rhode Island, bound to China. She made her passage in three months and nine days. The master reported, that when he left the States, they were thought to be on the eve of a rupture with France.¹

Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening of this day, the church on the east side of the cove was discovered to be on fire. Every assistance, as far as numbers could be useful, was given, but ineffectually; for the building being covered with thatch, which was at this time exceedingly dry and combustible, it was completely consumed in an hour.

This was a great loss, for during the working days of the week the building was used as a school, in which from 150 to 200 children were educated, under the immediate inspection of Mr. Johnson, the clergyman.² As it stood entirely alone, and no person was suffered to remain in it after the school hours, there was not any doubt that this atrocious act was the effect of design, and the consequence of the late order which had been given out and had been rigidly executed, enforcing attendance on divine service; and in the view of rendering, by the destruction of the building, the Sabbath a day of as little decency and sobriety as any other in the week. The perpetrators of this mischief were, however, disappointed in their expectation; for the governor, justly deeming this to have been the motive, and highly irritated at such a shameful act, resolved, if no convenient place could immediately be found for the performance of public worship, that, instead of Sunday being employed as each should propose to himself, the whole of the labouring gangs should be employed on that day in erecting another building for the purpose; it happened, however, that a large storehouse was just at that time finished; and, not being

immediately wanted, it was fitted up as a church; and thus not a single Sunday was lost by this wicked design!³

For the discovery of the offender a reward of £30 was offered, together with absolute emancipation to the informer if a convict, and a recommendation to the master of any ship to take him or her from the colony. But it was seen with concern, that rewards and punishments alike failed in their effect.⁴

This circumstance must impress upon the mind of every one who may read this account, to what a dreadful state of profligacy the colony had arrived, which, alarming as it was, must have been still worse, had it not been for the civil police which fortunately had been established; for a more wicked, abandoned, and irreligious set of people had never been brought together before in any part of the colony.⁵ The hope of their amendment seemed every day to lessen. The spirit of trade (not that liberal spirit which characterises the British trader, but a mean, selfish, avaricious passion, that hesitated not at any means to be gratified) proved the source of every evil under which the settlers laboured.

Notwithstanding this picture of their vices, the colony was at this time, generally speaking, in perfect health. For want of slop clothing and bedding, indeed, they were much distressed; but on this or any other account they were little deserving of any commiseration.

Since the last failure of those ill-considered attempts of the Irish to escape from the colony, no further schemes of that nature had been planned; but, as a matter of common justice to them, it was much wished that regular accounts of the dates of their conviction, and their several terms of transportation, might be sent out. They had been informed, that a promise to this effect had been made by government.

On the 7th, the two Americans, the *Semiramis*, and *Argo* schooner, sailed for China. At the same time the *Nautilus* brig, and *Norfolk* long-boat, sailed for Van Diemen's land. The *Nautilus*, which had been in extreme distress for every kind of repair, was completely put in order here; and, as the two young men who had the care and direction of the speculation on which she was fitted out from India, had been very unfortunate through the infirmities of their vessel, and other causes, they were determined to try, during this season, what the seal-fishing among the islands to the southward might produce.

On the day following, the *Francis* sailed for Norfolk Island, with a few women and some stores for that settlement. As it was intended, that on her return she should examine the shoal said to have been discovered to the northward of Lord Howe Island, and make, if possible, and ascertain the situation of, the island discovered in 1788 by Lieutenant Shortland in the *Alexander* transport, and named by him Sir Charles Middleton Island, Lieutenant John Shortland, of the *Reliance*, a son

of the above officer, was sent in the *Francis*, and was charged with the sole direction of the vessel upon that service.⁶

In the *Norfolk* were Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, who were instructed to examine the existence of the strait supposed to divide Van Diemen's land from the continent.

The rage for trade already spoken of, which prevailed so universally in the colony, occasioned such a continued scene of contention and litigation among the people, that much public inconvenience was experienced in the liberties which were taken of imprisoning the public servants of the crown for debts contracted with many of the petty dealers; notwithstanding an order which was given out in the year 1788, by the late Governor Phillip, in which the colony was informed, that the convicts (by whom were meant the public servants of the crown) had no property of their own, their clothing, their time, and their labour, being the property of government, and not at their own disposal. This order having worn out of their recollection, it became necessary to renew it, to prevent that loss of labour on the public works which imprisoning their persons so improperly must occasion. Notice was therefore given, that the public servants of the crown were not to be detained from their duty by imprisoning their persons in this way; and if any person should be desirous of accommodating them with credit, it must be wholly and absolutely upon the strength of their own good faith in the integrity of such people, and not under the idea that they could arrest and imprison them according to the forms of law; and it was to be generally understood, that government would by no means dispense with the labour of its servants for the partial accommodation of any private dealings whatever.⁷

On the evening of the 11th, another fire happened in the town of Sydney, which, but for a great deal of care and activity, might have burnt all the houses on the east side. A row of buildings which had been lately erected for the nurses and other persons employed about the hospital, was set on fire, and totally consumed. The flames very nearly reached the boat-yard, in which were many concerns of value.

On the 20th, an American ship, the *Ann and Hope*, anchored in Botany Bay, unfavourable winds having prevented her getting up so far as Port Jackson. As the master only wanted a little wood and water, three days were sufficient to procure them; and at the end of that period he sailed for China. He certainly was either pressed for time, or had nothing on board that he could part with, as the ships of his country had always found it worth their while to refresh at Port Jackson.

Toward the latter end of the month the governor visited the settlers at the Hawkesbury; and while he was there made some useful regulations among the sawyers, who had fixed their own portion of public labour.

He gave notice, that a session should be held quarterly for settling all civil concerns; and made some other local arrangements, which, if attended to, would have conducted essentially to the welfare of the settlers, whose farms he found promising plenty, but whose houses and persons wore the appearance of poverty and beggary, they converting all the produce of their farms to the unworthy purpose of purchasing a pernicious spirit that must ever keep them poor.⁸

In the evening of the 27th, the ship *Marquis Cornwallis* arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, with a cargo of cattle on government account, consisting of 158 cows and 20 bulls, exclusive of a few on private account. When they were landed, a few appeared weakly; but, in general, they were in as good health as any that had been before landed, after a voyage of such extent; and would certainly prove a vast acquisition to the colony; part of the cows being a mixed breed between the Cape and English cattle, and the whole appearing to be under the age of two years and a half.

With the *Marquis Cornwallis* arrived the *Indispensable*, a southern whaler, commanded by Mr. Wilkinson, who had twice before visited the settlement; but he sailed again immediately.

In this month the foundation of a stone building intended for a church was laid at Sydney. It was to be 150 feet in length, and 52 in breadth. Preparations were making for a similar building at Parramatta, which was to be of smaller dimensions than this at Sydney.⁹

The weather proved much too dry and sultry for the harvest. Some rain fell toward the latter end of the month; but it was greatly feared that it came too late to be of much benefit to the wheat or maize.

November.] Twice had the criminal court of judicature lately met for the trial of various offenders; one of whom, being clearly convicted of wilful perjury, stood in the pillory pursuant to his sentence.¹⁰

Instead of living peaceably and pleasantly at the governor's house, as he certainly might always have done, Bennillong preferred the rude and dangerous society of his own countrymen, visiting the settlement only when induced by the recollection of the comforts which he could no where else obtain. Word was now brought in, of his having been again severely wounded in a contest with some of the natives. This man had lately received and recovered of several wounds, any one of which would have been sufficient to have destroyed a European. But these people in general owed their existence more to their good habit of body (living free from the use of spirituous liquors and the luxuries of the table) than to any other cause. Unless this be admitted, it will be difficult to account for their surviving the desperate wounds which they have been often known to receive.

An instance of the fatal effects of misguided conduct, and a too late sense of criminality, occurred in the tragical end of Nathaniel

Franklyn, the governor's steward. This man, whom he brought from England, had the whole care and management of the governor's domestic concerns entrusted to him. He had been repeatedly cautioned by his master against the many artful and designing acquaintances which he had formed in the town, and was pointedly desired to be aware of not suffering himself to be influenced by their opinions. It was proved that he had not had fortitude enough to withstand their solicitations, but had consented to rob the governor to a very considerable amount, abusing the confidence he had placed in him, and making use of his name in a most iniquitous manner. Of the infamy of his conduct he was at last sensible, and, retiring into the shrubbery in the garden of the governor's house, shot himself through the head.¹¹

The wretched state of the settlement appeared but too plainly from this melancholy circumstance.

The complaints which were daily made of the refractory and disobedient conduct of the convict women rendered it absolutely necessary that some steps should be instantly taken to make them more clearly understand the nature of their situation in this country, and the duties that they were liable to perform. The governor, therefore, judged it proper to desire that every officer or other housekeeper in the settlement, who might have female servants in their families, would immediately forward to the judge-advocate's office the names of such as they employed. He also forbade them to protect from public labour any but those whom they were permitted to retain; and when at any time they were desirous of discharging from their employment any servant of this description, they were to send an intimation thereof, together with a character of the person, to the same office. As they had never been limited in the number of women servants which they considered requisite to their domestic concerns, it was hoped that they would afford every assistance in their power, which might lead to the detection of imposition, and serve to correct any abuse of such indulgence.¹²

To the list of public buildings, which, young as was the settlement, time had overthrown, was now added the government-house at Parramatta; the roof of which falling-in in some bad weather, the building was surveyed, and found so weak and decayed as not to admit of repairs. It was therefore determined to take this entirely down, and erect a new one; for which purpose a gang of brickmakers was shortly after sent up there.

At this place and at Toongabbie additional stock-yards were preparing for the cattle lately arrived; and materials were collecting for building a church and water-mill at Parramatta.

At Sydney the ship's company of the *Supply* were actively and usefully employed in constructing a half-moon battery on the east

point of the cove, where stood the house built by Governor Phillip for Bennillong, in those days when it was thought an object of some moment to soothe and conciliate the friendship of that savage.

There was but little variation in the weather, except that on the 25th there was a violent burst of thunder, attended with partial whirlwinds, by which several buildings were much damaged.

December.] At the departure of the ship *Marquis Cornwallis* for Bengal, which was on the 3rd of this month, several convicts were taken from the settlement without permission. This evil could alone be checked by severe prosecutions and penalties.

The harvest which was begun in the last, was completed in this month. In the abundance that was expected, every one was disappointed; for, owing to a most tedious and unfortunate drought during ten months, the wheat did not turn out more than one-third of what, from the quantity of ground sown with that grain, there was a reasonable expectation of its producing, had the season been moderately favourable. This was the more seriously felt, as at one time a hope was entertained of reaping grain sufficient to supply the colony with bread for two years.

The conclusion of the harvest was productive of a slight disturbance among the Irish convicts at Toongabbie. Having, each man and woman who had been employed, received a small quantity of spirits and water, which had been ordered them, it produced at first cheerfulness and play, but terminated in riot and ill-humour; a circumstance not uncommon with that class of people. They were, however, easily separated and sent to their respective huts.

On the 19th, the *Francis* schooner arrived from Norfolk Island, where all were in good health. Lieutenant Shortland, who had received directions to search for Sir Charles Middleton Island and shoal, on his return produced his journal and a chart of the various traverses which he had made in quest of the island, and compared them with those made formerly by Lieutenant (now Captain) Ball in his Majesty's armed brig *Supply*, who had been sent by Governor Phillip expressly on the same pursuit. The extensive range taken by those two officers in the search, and their not having met with even any indications of land near that situation, left little reason to believe in the existence of the island. That of the shoal was not so doubtful; and, although Mr. Shortland did not fall in with it, yet, as a shoal had been seen by two or three different persons near the spot in which that reef was laid down, there was much reason to believe that a dangerous bank or shoal did somewhere thereabout exist; but its exact situation in point of latitude and longitude had not yet been correctly fixed, nor was its extent supposed to be so great as was at first believed.

On the evening of the 25th, which had been duly observed as Christmas Day, the *Nautilus* arrived from the southward. She had been at

Preservation Island, where, and among the neighbouring islands, she had been tolerably successful in seal-catching. The master left 14 of his people on the island of Cape Barren, to provide as many skins and as much oil as they could against his return. Those with which he now arrived were in a few days sold by auction.

The two whalers, the *Indispensable* and *Britannia*, which had been fishing on the coast, returned on the 29th for a few days to repair some defects and refresh their crews. They had cruised chiefly from the latitude of $32^{\circ} 00'$ to $35^{\circ} 00'$, and not farther from the coast than from 20 to 30 leagues, and thought themselves rather successful for the time (only two months), the one having got 54, and the other 60 tons of spermaceti oil.

The *Eliza* (more wisely) put into Botany Bay, to wood and water. She, although much longer at sea, had not been so successful, having got only 45 tons of oil. The master of this ship stated, that he saw off the NE part of New Caledonia a ship on shore upon a reef, the lower masts of which were above water, and one of the tops was on the mast. The weather was thick and hazy, and blew too fresh to allow him to send to examine her; but a piece of a boat, which he took to be part of a whale boat, floating near him, he judged the wreck to be that of a whaler. He also fell in with a very dangerous and extensive shoal, lying NNW about 40 leagues from Sandy Cape, upon the coast of New South Wales.¹³ It was so large, that, finding himself entered upon it, and unable to get back, it took him from nine in the morning until six in the evening, going at the rate of six knots (or miles) an hour, before he ran through it.

Thus already did the settlement and the public at large derive some advantage from the fishing on the coast, by the discovery of this shoal.

There happened three deaths in this month which were out of the common way: a woman at the Hawkesbury died of the bite of a snake; another woman was drowned in attempting to land at Norfolk Island; and on the 19th died, very suddenly, Mr. Stephenson, the store-keeper at Sydney.¹⁴ As his death was not exactly in the common way, so neither had been the latter part of his life; indeed, all that part of it which he had passed in this country; for, by an upright conduct, and a faithful discharge of the duties of the office with which he had been entrusted, he secured to himself the approbation of his superiors while living, and their good name at his death.

Stephenson had been emancipated for his orderly behaviour, and to enable him to execute the office of store-keeper.

The annual election of constables recurring about this time, the magistrates were desired to be very particular in their selection of the persons returned to them for that purpose; as there was reason

to fear, from the frequent escapes of prisoners from the different gaols, that the constables had been tampered with, so shamefully to neglect their duty.¹⁵

The wheat harvest being over, and the country, as happened generally at this season of the year, every where on fire, those who were engaged in farming were reminded of the necessity of their exerting themselves by every practicable means to secure their crops, when stacked, against accident by fire. As yet, none had been heard of. In the early part of the month Fahrenheit's thermometer at the Hawkesbury stood at 107 degrees in the shade.

Many people were at this time much afflicted with inflammations of the eyes*, attended with extreme pain, and supposed by the medical gentlemen to be occasioned by the excessive dry and sultry weather which had prevailed for a considerable time. Dysenteric complaints were also very common, which were attributed to the water, most of the runs and springs having been nearly dried up. The tanks which were cut in the rocks below the stream by order of Governor Phillip had proved of infinite utility.

The seamen belonging to the *Supply* completed their half-moon battery in this month, and part of that ship's guns were mounted in it.

In addition to other public works, some people were employed in white-washing the houses in the town of Sydney, and repairing such of the buildings as required it; an attention highly necessary at least once in every year, for the preservation of works, the re-construction of which, when suffered to fall to decay, was attended with a great expense.

The live stock and the ground in cultivation had been considerably increased in this year, as will be seen by comparing the following account of each with the return of the preceding year.¹⁶

LIVE STOCK

| Horses | Mares | Horned Cattle | | Hogs | Sheep | | Goats | |
|--------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | | Bulls & Oxen | Cows | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 44 | 73 | 163 | 258 | 2867 | 1459 | 2443 | 787 | 1880 |

* In the month of April 1794 and 1796, several adults and children were troubled with an inflammation of the eyes, which was then attributed to the variable and unsettled weather that had for some time prevailed. It must be remarked, that the present appearance of this complaint was in the summer, the former in the winter season.

LAND IN CULTIVATION

| Acres in Wheat | Acres in Maize | Acres in Barley |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 4659 | 1453 | 57½ |

It will appear from this account, which is brought down to the month of August, and taken up from that month in the preceding year, that the goats had not increased so much as the sheep. Many had of course been slaughtered; but they were found to be afflicted with diseases which carried them off in numbers, while the sheep were seen to thrive better.

CHAPTER XIV

Certificates granted to convicts—Reasons for so doing—Unruly behaviour of the Irish—Agricultural concerns look ill—The Norfolk sloop returns from Van Diemen's Land—Particulars—Twofold Bay described—Natives there—Kent's group—Furneaux's Islands—Preservation Island—Curious petrefaction there—Cape Barren Island—The Wombat described

January 1799.]

ON the second of this month, certificates were granted to such convicts as had completed their several terms of transportation.

That none might have it in their power to make a plea of any injustice being exercised upon them with respect to that critical point their servitude, it had been made a rule, three or four times in the year, to issue discharge certificates to such as were found, on consulting the proper documents, to be entitled to them; and, if desirous of being at their own disposal, to strike them off from the victualling books. Many convicts having been sent out, who had not more than two years to serve after their arrival, proved, by claiming their discharge, a considerable drawback on field-labour, as well in Norfolk Island as in New South Wales. But this was not the only evil. In this way there were let loose upon the public a number of idle and worthless characters, who, not having any means of getting out of the country, became a dangerous and troublesome pest. They refused all kind of labour, but continued to form connections with the equally worthless part of the other inhabitants, who, from their domestic situations, had an opportunity of affording the best information where robberies and burglaries could be most readily committed. They also consumed a vast proportion of the provision which was raised in the colony. Still, as the law had spent its force against them, there was no denying them the restoration of their rights as free people. The convicts in general had suffered much through want of clothing and bedding. Indeed, during the late harvest, several gangs were seen labouring in the fields, as free of clothing of any kind as the savages of the country. This had made them insolent; and anonymous letters were dropped, in which were threatenings of what would be done at the proper season.

At this time, when the certificates were granted, a numerous body of the Irish convicts, many of whom had but lately arrived, insisted that 'their times were out,' and could not be persuaded that they were mistaken by any remonstrance or argument. They grew noisy and insolent, and even made use of threats; upon which a few of

the most forward and daring were secured, and instantly punished; after which they were ordered to go peaceably back to their work. They had also taken up the idea that Ireland had shaken off its connection with England, and that they were no longer to be considered as convicts under the British government. This was a most pernicious idea to be entertained by such a lawless set of people, and required the strong arm of government to eradicate it.

Agricultural concerns at this time wore a most unpromising appearance. The wheat proved little better than straw or chaff; and the maize was burnt up in the ground for want of rain. From the establishment of the settlement, so much continued drought and suffocating heat had not been experienced. The country was now in flames; the wind northerly and parching; and some showers of rain, which fell on the 7th, were of no advantage, being immediately taken up again by the excessive heat of the sun.

On the 12th, the *Norfolk* sloop arrived, with Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, from the examination of Van Diemen's land.

As the result of this little voyage was the complete knowledge of the existence of a strait separating Van Diemen's land from the continent of New Holland, it may not be improper to enter with some degree of minuteness into the particulars of it; and the writer of these pages feels much gratification in being enabled to do this, from the accurate and pleasing journal of Mr. Bass, with the perusal and use of which he has been favoured.¹

The *Norfolk* sailed, as has been already stated, upon this voyage of discovery about the 7th of October last², with Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass; and on the 11th, when nearly off Cape Howe, being met by a fresh gale at SW they bore up, and anchored in Twofold Bay. This bay had been visited by Mr. Bass when he was on the coast in the whale boat; but he had not at that time so good an opportunity of examining it as he desired, and now had.³ He found Twofold Bay situated at the southern end of a short chain of hummocky hills, one part of which is much more conspicuous than the rest, and lies immediately behind the bay.⁴ The land on the west side, being a part of this chain of hills, is high and rocky. The shore is divided into steep cliff heads, with small intermediate beaches; the one formed by the most prominent of the ridges, the others by the sand thrown up at the foot of their valleys. Behind the beaches are ponds of brackish water.

The abruptness and sudden rise of the hills for the most part permit the vegetable earth to be washed down into the vallies as fast as it is formed. Some of the more gradual slopes retain a sufficiency of it to produce a thick coat of tolerably succulent grass; but the soil partakes too much of the stony quality of the higher parts to be capable of cultivation.

The dark luxuriant foliage of the valleys points out the advantages

which they had received from the impoverished hills. Their soil is rich and deep, but their extent is narrow and limited. Some three or four hundred acres of excellent soil might be found upon the edges of the ponds, and by the sides of the occasional drains that supply them with the fresh part of their water.

Both hill and valley produce large timber and brush-wood of various heights; upon the hills, the brush grows in small clumps; while in the valleys it not only covers the whole surface, but is also bound together by creeping vines, of every size between small twine and a seven inch hawser.

In the SW corner of the bay, is a lagoon, or small inlet, that communicates with the sea, through the beach at the back of which it lies. The chain of hills here runs back to some little distance from the water, and leaves a few square miles of rather good ground, through which the inlet was found to take its course in a winding direction to the SW for six or eight miles, where it ends in small swamps and marshes. Large boats might enter this place at a third flood, and proceed to the farther part of it. Upon its banks from five to seven hundred acres of a light sandy soil might be picked out, in patches of from fifty to a hundred acres each; but on the side next the mountain it soon became stony, and on that next the lagoon it was wet and salt.

The country along the back of the bay lies in rounded stony hills scarcely fit for pasturage, but covered with timber, and patches of short brush.

On the south side was another shallow inlet, larger than that on the SW running in by the end of a beach, and winding along to the SSW with little or no cultivable or low ground upon its borders. The returning tide did not allow time enough to proceed to the head of it.

On the eastern side, the hills being neither steep nor prominent, some extensive slopes of tolerably good, though sandy soil, have been formed. Several which extended to the water, being well covered with grass and thinly set with timber, had a pleasing appearance from the bay, and resembled some of the most beautiful parts of Mount Edgecumbe, near Plymouth. Speaking generally of the land round the bay, it might be said to be much more barren than productive; that there are several patches of tolerably good, and some few of excellent soil; but by far the greater part is incapable of cultivation, and fit only for pasturage.

The most common timber is a sort of gum tree, the bark of which along the trunk is that of the iron bark of Port Jackson; and its leaf, that of the blue gum tree; but its branches toward the head are of a yellow colour, smooth, and resembling the barked limbs of

trees. The wood is longer grained, and more tough, splitting easier and more true than any other species of the gum tree.

The natives are, in person, similar to those living about Port Jackson, but their language was perfectly unintelligible. They used canoes, of which they seemed very careful; for on his rowing round the point of Snug Cove, when Mr. Bass was on his first visit to this bay in the whale boat, a party of them paddled hastily on shore, taking their canoes upon their heads, and running off with them into the woods. They, however, did not appear so shy of their visitors now as they had formerly been; and there was reason to believe that a friendly intercourse might have been easily established with them.

Not meeting with any grass trees, and the few spears that were seen being made of solid wood, it may be conjectured, that the light grass reed spear used by the natives of Port Jackson is unknown among these people, as well as the use of the throwing-stick.

But very few marks of the kangaroo were seen. Both quadrupeds and birds appeared to be less numerous here than in other places. The dogs found a porcupine ant-eater⁵, but they could make no impression on him; he escaped from them by burrowing in the loose sand, not head foremost, but sinking himself directly downwards, and presenting his prickly back opposed to his adversaries.

There were a few ducks, teal, herons, cranes, and a bird named from its bill the Red-bill⁶, upon the lagoons, with some small flights of curlew and plover of a beautiful feather.⁷

The rocks consist of hardened clay, in which are mixed great numbers of small stones, variously tinged, some with red, others with yellow. Small portions of calcareous spar lie scattered about the surface of the rocky ground; strata of which are deposited irregularly in fissures formed in the body of the rocks themselves.

Leaving Twofold Bay upon a favourable shift of wind, the sloop proceeded to the southward, and on the 17th made a small cluster of islands, in latitude 38° 16', which now bears the name of Kent's Group (a compliment to the commander of his Majesty's ship *Supply*). These are six or seven in number, and of various sizes. Their height is very considerable, and as irregular in figure as can well be imagined in land whose hummocks are no one of them more lofty than another. This small group appears to be formed of granite, which is imperfectly concealed by long straggling dwarfish brush, and some few still more diminutive trees, and seems cursed with a sterility that might safely bid defiance to Chinese industry itself. Nature is either working very slowly with those islands, or has altogether ceased to work upon them, since a more wild deserted place is not easily to be met with. Even the birds seemed not to frequent them in their usual numbers. There was, in short, nothing that could tempt our explorers to land.

Having passed Kent's Group standing to the southward, the next morning Furneaux's Islands were in sight, and on the following day they anchored at Preservation Island, which is one of them. These islands, from what was seen of them during this run along their shore, and what had been seen of them before by Mr. Bass, appear to consist of two kinds, perfectly dissimilar in figure, and most probably of very unequal ages, but alike in the materials of which they are formed. Both kinds are of granite; but the one is low, and rather level, with a soil of sand covered with low brush and tufted grass: the other is remarkably high, bold, and rocky, and cut into a variety of singular peaks and knobs. Some little vegetable soil lies upon these, and the vegetation is large; trees even of a tolerable size are produced in some places. There are attached to some parts of these high islands slips of low sandy land, of a similar height with the lower islands, and probably coeval with them.

Preservation Island, which takes its respectable name from having preserved the crew of the ship *Sydney Cove*, arranges itself in the humble class of islands, and is of a very moderate height. A surface of sand, varying in depth, and mixed in different scanty proportions with vegetable soil, scarcely hides from view the base, which is of granite. In several places vast blocks of this stone lie scattered about, as free from vegetation and the injuries of weather as if they had fallen but yesterday: and, what is remarkable, most of them, probably all, are evidently detached from the stone upon which they rest, so entirely that they might be dragged from the places where they lie, if it were thought worth while to apply a power sufficient to produce so useless an effect. It should seem then that these loose blocks have fallen from some place higher than that upon which they were found; but that is impossible, for they are higher than any other part of the island. And the supposition that the injuries of the air and the rain caused the removal of that part of the granite which might originally have been of a corresponding height with these remaining blocks, seems hardly admissible in the present instance. Perhaps subterraneous or volcanic fire may have caused this curious appearance.⁸

The great bulk of these blocks renders them so conspicuous, that the attention is first struck with them upon approaching the island. But, besides granite, there is on the north side, where the island is particularly low and narrow, a slip of calcareous earth, of a few hundred yards in length, which discovers itself near the broken surface of the water. It is not for the most part pure, for broken pieces of the granite are mixed with it in various proportions. Some parts are a mere mass of these broken pieces cemented together by the calcareous matter; whilst others are an almost perfect chalk, and are capable of being burnt into excellent lime. Broken sea shells and other exuviae of marine animals are apparent throughout the whole mass.⁹

Upon the beach at the foot of this chalky rock, was found a very considerable quantity of the black metallic particles which appear in the granite as black shining specks, and are in all probability grains of tin.

To find this small bed of the remains of shell animals, of which chalk is formed wherever found, in such an unexpected situation, excited some surprise; and Mr. Bass endeavoured to investigate the cause of this deposit, by examining the form of the neighbouring parts of the island.

The result of his inquiries and conjectures amounted to this: that as traces of the sea, and of the effects of running waters, were plainly discernible in many parts of the island, and more particularly in the vicinity of this deposit of chalk and granite, it seemed highly probable that it had been formed by two streams of the tide, which, when the island was yet beneath the surface of the sea, having swept round a large lump of rocks, then met and formed an eddy, where every substance would fall to the bottom. The lump of rocks is now a rocky knoll, which runs tapering from the opposite side of the island toward the chalk. On each side of it is a gap, through which the two streams appear to have passed.¹⁰

The vegetation on the island seems brown and starved. It consists of a few stunted trees; several patches of brush, close set and almost impenetrable; large tufts of sour and wiry grass, and abundance of low saltish plants, chiefly of the creeping kind.¹¹

A small spot upon the east end of the island presented a phenomenon which seemed not easily explicable by any known laws of that class of natural history to which it alone was referable.¹²

Amidst a patch of naked sand, upon one of the highest parts of the island, at not less than 100 feet above the level of the sea, within the limits of a few hundred yards square, were lying scattered about a number of short broken branches of old dead trees, of from one to three inches in diameter, and seemingly of a kind similar to the large brush wood. Amid these broken branches were seen sticking up several white stony stumps, of sizes ranging between the above diameters, and in height from a foot to a foot and a half. Their peculiar form, together with a number of prongs of their own quality, projecting in different directions from around their base, and entering the ground in the manner of roots, presented themselves to the mind of an observer, with a striking resemblance to the stumps and roots of small trees. These were extremely brittle, the slightest blow with a stick, or with each other, being sufficient to break them short off; and when taken into the hand, many of them broke to pieces with their own weight.

On being broken transversely, it was immediately seen that the internal part was divided into interior or central, exterior or cortical. The exterior part, which in different specimens occupied various propor-

tions of the whole, resembled a fine white and soft grit-stone; but acids being applied, shewed it to be combined with a considerable portion of calcareous matter. The interior or central part was always circular, but seldom found of the same diameter, or of the same composition, on any two stumps. In some the calcareous and sandy matter had taken such entire possession, that every fragment of the wood was completely obliterated; but yet a faint central ring remained. In others was a centre of chalk, beautifully white, that crumbled between the fingers to the finest powder; some consisted of chalk and brown earth, in various quantities, and some others had detained a few frail portions of their woody fibres, the spaces between which were filled up with chalky earth.

It appeared, that when the people of the *Sydney Cove* first came upon the island, the pieces of dead branches that at this time were lying round the stumps, then formed, with them, the stem and branches of dead trees complete. But by the time Mr. Bass visited the place, the hands of curiosity, and the frolics of an unruly horse that was saved from the wreck, had reduced them to the state already described.

Mr. Bass had been told from good authority, that when the trees were in a complete state, the diameter of the dead wood of the stem that rose immediately from the stoney part was equal to the diameter of that part; and also that a living leaf was seen upon the uppermost branches of one of them. But he could never learn whether the stony part of the stem was of an equal height in all the trees.

To ascertain to what depth the petrification had extended, Mr. Bass scratched away the sand from the foot of many of the stumps, and in no instance found it to have proceeded more than three or four inches beneath the surface of the sand, as it then lay; for at that depth the brown and crumbling remains of the root came into view. There were, indeed, parts of the roots which had undergone an alteration similar to that which had taken place in the stems: but these tended to establish the limits of the petrifying power; for they had felt it only either at their first outset from the bottom of the stems, or when, being obstructed in their progress, they had of necessity arched upwards toward the surface.

In attempting to account for the cause that had operated to produce this change in the structure of the lower parts of the stems of these trees, Mr. Bass feels the utmost diffidence. He found that all his conjectures which were best supported by existing facts, led him to place them among petrifications; although no strict analogy could be seen between them and the subjects usually met with of this kind.

Admitting them, however, as petrifications, it is certain that there must once have existed a pond in which the petrifying water was contained; but the ground in their neighbourhood retained no positive traces of any such receptacle. There were, indeed, near them, some

few lumps or banks consisting of sand, and a little vegetable earth which was held together by dead roots of small trees, and elevated above the rest of the ground, to the height of five, six, or eight feet; but the relative position of these with each other was so confused and irregular, that nothing but the necessity of a once existing reservoir could ever lead any one to conjecture that these might have been parts of its bank. Mr. Bass, however, rather concluded that this must have been the case, and that the remainder of the bank had been torn away, and the pond itself annihilated by some violent effort of an unknown power.

Notwithstanding the narrow limits of the island, abundance of small kangaroos were found to inhabit its brushy parts; but so many had been destroyed by the people of the *Sydney Cove*, that they had now become scarce.

The sooty petrel had appropriated a certain grassy part of the island to herself, and retained her position with a degree of obstinacy not easily to be overcome.¹³ For although it so happened, that the storehouse for the wrecked cargo was erected upon the spot, and the people for more than a year drew the favourite part of their food from these birds, and were besides continually walking over their habitations, yet at the end of that time the returning flights in the evening were as numerous as they had been observed to be upon their first arrival.

When Mr. Hamilton, the commander of the *Sydney Cove*, quitted the house, he left two hens sitting upon their eggs, some breeding pigeons, and a bag of rice; but no traces were now to be discovered either of the birds or their food. It is probable, that so long as this little colony continued within doors, it did well; but that, when forced by its necessities to go abroad in quest of food, it fell a quiet sacrifice to the rapacity of the hawks.¹⁴

Several snakes with venomous fangs were found here; but, no person having been bitten by them, the degree of their power was unknown.

The water of the island was thought to have been injurious to the health of the people of the *Sydney Cove*. It was supposed to contain arsenic, which was highly probable from an experiment that was made with the metallic particles, which were taken to be tin. A large fume of what bore many marks of arsenic arose from the crucible during the time of smelting it. Water was very scarce while these people were upon the island; but, owing to some unusual falls of rain, several little runs and swamps were found by Mr. Bass; and a low piece of ground where they had deposited their dead was now a pond of an excellent quality.

Although he had seen but few of the low islands of Furneaux, yet Mr. Bass had not any doubt but that this account of Preservation Island would in general answer for the description of any of them.

He next proceeds to describe what little he saw of Cape Barren Island, which he understood, from the people of the *Nautilus* snow, who had been there sealing, was an exact specimen of those of the higher kind, so far as they had observed of them.

Cape Barren Island, which takes its name from the cape so called by Captain Furneaux¹⁵, is a small island when compared with that lying to the northward of it. From what was seen of it in the sloop, it could only be conjectured that these two were separate islands; but Mr. Bishop had passed in the *Nautilus* through the channel that divides them.¹⁶

Mr. Bass did not land upon the large island, and it is only of the southern end of Cape Barren Island that he could speak from his own particular observation.

This island is one of those of the higher kind that consist of both high and low land. The high part is composed of granite, in many places almost bare, in others poorly clothed with moderate sized gum trees, which draw their support through some small quantity of vegetable earth lodged by the broken blocks and fragments of the stone, and some straggling brush-wood shooting up round the trees, and completing the appearance of a continued vegetation.

The base of the low part is granite; its surface chiefly sand; its produce, variety of brush, with some few small gum trees, and a species of fir, that grows tall and straight to the height of 20 or 25 feet. There are within the body of the brush several clear spots, where the ground is partly rocky or sandy, partly wet and spongy. These are somewhat enlivened by beautiful flowering heath, and low shrubs, but have upon the whole a dark sombrous aspect, too much resembling the barren heaths of Hampshire.

A grass tree grows here, similar in every respect to that about Port Jackson, except that no reed, neither living nor dead, could be found to belong to it. It is certain, however, that there must be a reed, or a flowering part of some kind. In the brushes, where the sandy soil is somewhat ameliorated by the decay of vegetation, a few tufts of indifferent grass might be seen; but the greater part of it was the coarse wiry sort that grows in hassocks.

It is singular, that a place wherein food seemed to be so scarce should yet be so thickly inhabited by the small brush kangaroo, and a new quadruped, which was also a grass-eater.

This animal, being a new one, appears to deserve a particular description.¹⁷ The Wombat (or, as it is called by the natives of Port Jackson, the Womback) is a squat, thick, short-legged, and rather inactive quadruped, with great appearance of stumpy strength, and somewhat bigger than a large turnspit dog. Its figure and movements, if they do not exactly resemble those of the bear, at least strongly remind one of that animal.¹⁸

Its length, from the tip of the tail to the tip of the nose, is thirty-one inches, of which its body takes up twenty-three and five-tenths. The head is seven inches, and the tail five-tenths. Its circumference behind the forelegs, twenty-seven inches; across the thickest part of the belly, thirty-one inches. Its weight by hand is somewhat between twenty-five and thirty pounds. The hair is coarse, and about one inch or one inch and five tenths in length, thinly set upon the belly, thicker on the back and head, and thickest upon the loins and rump; the colour of it a light sandy brown, of varying shades, but darkest along the back.

The head is large and flattish, and, when looking the animal full in the face, seems, excluding the ears, to form nearly an equilateral triangle, any side of which is about seven inches and five tenths in length, but the upper side, or that which constitutes the breadth of the head, is rather the shortest. The hair upon the face lies in regular order, as if it were combed, with its ends pointed upwards in a kind of radii, from the nose their centre.

The ears are sharp and erect, of two inches and three-tenths in length, stand well asunder, and are in nowise disproportionate. The eyes are small, and rather sunken than prominent, but quick and lively. They are placed about two inches and five tenths asunder, a little below the centre of the imaginary triangle towards the nose. The nice co-adaptation of their ciliary processes, which are covered with a fine hair, seems to afford the animal an extraordinary power of excluding whatever might be hurtful.

The nose is large or spreading, the nostrils large, long, and capable of being closed. They stand angularly with each other, and a channel is continued from them towards the upper lip, which is divided like the hare's. The whiskers are rather thick and strong, and are in length from two to three inches and five tenths.

The opening of its mouth is small; it contains five long grass-cutting teeth in the front of each jaw, like those of the kangaroo; within them is a vacancy for an inch or more, then appear two small canine teeth of equal height with, and so much similar to, eight molars situated behind, as scarcely to be distinguishable from them. The whole number in both jaws amount to twenty-four.

The neck is thick and short, and greatly restrains the motions of the head, which, according to the common expression, looks as if it was stuck upon the shoulders.

From the neck the back arches a little as far as the loins, whence it goes off at a flat slope to the hindmost parts, where not any tail is visible. A tail, however, may be found by carefully passing the finger over the flat slope in a line with the backbone. After separating the hairs, it is seen of some five tenths of an inch in length, and from three to one tenth of an inch in diameter, naked, except for



a few short fine hairs near its end. This curious tail seemed to hold a much bolder proportion in the young than in the full-grown animal.

The fore legs are very strong and muscular: their length, to the sole of the paw, is five inches five tenths, and the distance between them is five inches and five tenths. The paws are fleshy, round, and large, being one inch and nine tenths in diameter. Their claws are five in number, attached to as many short digitations. The three middle claws are strong, and about eight or nine tenths of an inch in length; the thumb and little finger claws are also strong, but shorter than the others, being only from six to seven tenths of an inch. The fleshy root of the thumb claw is smaller and more flexible than the others. The sole of the paw is hard, and the upper part is covered with the common hair, down to the roots of the claws which it overhangs. The hind legs are less strong and muscular than the fore; their length, to the sole, is five inches and five tenths; the distance between, seven inches and five tenths. The hind paw is longer than the fore, but not less fleshy; its length is two inches and seven tenths, its breadth two inches and six tenths. The claws are four in number: the three inner ones are less strong, but about two tenths of an inch longer than the longest of the fore claws; and there is a fleshy spur in the place of a thumb claw. The whole paw has a curve, which throws its fore part rather inward.

In size the two sexes are nearly the same, but the female is perhaps rather the heaviest.

In the opinion of Mr. Bass, this Wombat seemed to be very economically made; but he thought it unnecessary to give an account of its internal structure in his journal.

This animal has not any claim to swiftness of foot, as most men could run it down. Its pace is hobbling or shuffling, something like the awkward gait of a bear. In disposition it is mild and gentle, as becomes a grass-eater; but it bites hard, and is furious when provoked. Mr. Bass never heard its voice but at that time; it was a low cry, between a hissing and a whizzing, which could not be heard at a distance of more than thirty or forty yards. He chased one, and with his hands under his belly suddenly lifted him off the ground without hurting him, and laid him upon his back along his arm, like a child. It made no noise, nor any effort to escape, not even a struggle. Its countenance was placid and undisturbed, and it seemed as contented as if it had been nursed by Mr. Bass* from its infancy. He carried the beast upwards of a mile, and often shifted him from arm to arm, sometimes laying him upon his shoulder, all of which he took in good part; until, being obliged to secure his legs while he went into the brush to cut a specimen of a

* The kangaroo, and some other animals in New South Wales, were remarkable for being domesticated as soon as taken.

new wood, the creature's anger arose with the pinching of the twine; he whizzed with all his might, kicked and scratched most furiously, and snapped off a piece from the elbow of Mr. Bass's jacket with his grass-cutting teeth. Their friendship was here at an end, and the creature remained implacable all the way to the boat, ceasing to kick only when he was exhausted.

This circumstance seemed to indicate, that with kind treatment the Wombat might soon be rendered extremely docile, and probably affectionate; but let his tutor beware of giving him provocation, at least if he should be full grown.

Besides Furneaux's Islands, the Wombat inhabits, as has been seen, the mountains to the westward of Port Jackson. In both these places its habitation is under ground, being admirably formed for burrowing, but to what depth it descends does not seem to be ascertained. According to the account given of it by the natives, the wombat of the mountains is never seen during the day, but lives retired in his hole, feeding only in the night; but that of the islands is seen to feed in all parts of the day. His food is not yet well known; but it seems probable that he varies it, according to the situation in which he may be placed. The stomachs of such as Mr. Bass examined were distended with the coarse wiry grass, and he, as well as others, had seen the animal scratching among the dry ricks of sea-weed thrown up upon the shores, but could never discover what it was in search of. Now the inhabitant of the mountains can have no recourse to the sea-shore for his food, nor can he find there any wiry grass of the islands, but must live upon the food that circumstances present to him.

The annexed representation of this new and curious addition to the animals of New South Wales was taken from a living subject, which was a female, and had the characteristic mark which classed it with the opossum tribe, the pouch or bag for its young.¹⁹

Cape Barren Island, besides the kangaroo and wombat, is inhabited by the porcupine ant-eater; a rat with webbed feet; parroquets, and small birds unknown at Port Jackson, some few of which were of beautiful plumage. Black snakes with the venomous fangs were numerous upon the edges of the brush. The rocks toward the sea were covered with fur-seals of great beauty. This species of seal seemed to approach nearest to that named by naturalists the Falkland Island Seal.

'In point of animated life nature seems (says Mr. Bass) to have acted so oddly with this and the neighbouring islands, that if their rich stores were thoroughly ransacked, I doubt not but the departments of natural history would be enlarged by more new and valuable specimens than they ever before acquired from any land of many times their extent.'

CHAPTER XV

The Norfolk proceeds on her voyage—The Swan Isles; why so named—Waterhouse Isle—Discovers Port Dalrymple—Account of the country within it—Natural productions—Animals—Sagacity and numbers of the Black Swan—Inhabitants; inferior to those of the continent—Range of the thermometer—Pass Table Cape—Circular Head—Three Hummock Island—Albatross Island—Hunter's Isles—Proceed to the southward and westward

LEAVING Furneaux's Islands, the *Norfolk* proceeded toward the North coast of Van Diemen's land; and on the 1st of November she anchored for a tide at the largest of the Swan isles, two small islands so named by Lieutenant Flinders, when he was here in the *Francis*, because a European who belonged to the *Sydney Cove* had assured him that he had met with vast numbers of breeding swans upon them.¹

The isle at which the sloop anchored bore a great resemblance to Preservation Island, being low, sandy, and barren, but differed from it in the composition of its rocks, or that substance which formed the basis of its support. This had not any affinity to granite, nor did Mr. Bass remember to have seen any of a similar kind upon any part of New South Wales. It was of various colours, but generally either a light brown, or a sort of grey. It seemed to be lamellated, but the lamellae were placed vertically, sometimes radiated with a diameter of four or five feet, and sometimes they were placed parallel. Upon breaking the stone, the fracture was vitreous, or like that of glass, and it scintillated on steel being applied.² Rust of iron was visible in several parts, the stone breaking easily in those parts into plates correspondent to the length and direction of the rust; but where that was not, it broke with great difficulty. On the first view, the stone looked like a clay; but as it produced fire with steel, there must have been a large portion of flint in it. It appeared to contain iron in rather a large quantity, and probably some other metallic substances.

Notwithstanding the information given by the European, not a single swan was found upon the island; but several geese were breeding there, and the sooty petrel possessed the grassy parts; the swans of the sailor, in this instance, therefore, turned out to be geese.³ This bird had been seen before upon Preservation Island⁴, and was either a Brent or a Barnacle goose, or between the two. It had a long and slender neck, with a small short head, and a rounded crown;

a short, thick arched bill, partly covered with a pea-green membrane, which soon shrivelled up, and came away in the dried specimens. Its plumage was, for the most part, of a dove colour, set with black spots. It had a deep, hoarse, clanging, and, though a short, yet an inflected voice. In size it was rather less than our tame geese, and lived upon grass. The flesh was excellent.⁵

Early in the morning of the first of November⁶ they left the Swan Isles, steering to the westward along shore.⁷ At nine o'clock the north coast of Van Diemen's land lay extended from about SE by E to West, the nearest part of it being distant two and a half or three miles. Its general trending seemed to be about ESE and WNW with a small island lying off the western extreme. The shores were chiefly beaches, the front land was of a moderate height, the back was mountainous. One ridge of mountains that bore south was very high and rugged, and from the white patches in it was concluded to be rocky and barren.

If any judgment could be hazarded of the quality of the country, at the distance the sloop was at, it might be supposed, from the beauty of the lower head-land, to be somewhat above mediocrity. Extensive tracts of open ground that come down towards the sea in gradual green slopes were varied by clumps of wood and large single trees.

A column of smoke that arose some few miles inland, was the only sign of its being inhabited.

At noon the latitude was $40^{\circ} 44' 08''$, the peak of Cape Barren Island then in sight. At this time they were two miles to the westward of the small island⁸, which was low and rocky, lying about two miles and a half off a sharp, sandy point, with which it was nearly connected by some lumps of rock that almost closed up the passage. A long curved line of ripple extended to the northward.

The aspect of the low land here became less pleasing, the mountains approaching nearer to the sea, and the country appearing to be more wooded. The coast seemed inclined to a more southerly direction, and the western extremity, which bore SW by W, appeared broken, like Islands.

At five in the afternoon they anchored two miles and a half to the westward of the small island, it being calm, and the tide of ebb setting the vessel to the Northward.⁹

They weighed at nine the next morning with an easterly wind, and steered in towards a small break that presented itself in the bottom of an extensive but not deep bay, or rather bight, lying between the two extremes then in view. The break was not sufficiently distinct to have justified in itself alone a reasonable supposition of an inlet, but that it was corroborated by the direction of the ebb tide, which, while the sloop was at anchor, was observed to come from the SSW or directly out of the bight, running at the rate of two miles and

a half per hour. By noon, it being ascertained that there was not any inlet, they bore away to the Westward along the land.¹⁰

Their distance from the shore did not exceed a mile and a half. The back country consisted of high hummocky mountains, whose parallel edges were lying elevated one above another to a considerable distance inland. The land in front was woody and bushy, of a moderate height, but sandy.¹¹

At three in the afternoon they ran through between a sandy point, with shoal water off it, and two islands. One of these, named Waterhouse Isle, is between two and three miles in length, rather high, but level, and covered with large wood. The other is small, low, rocky, and almost bare. The coast now trended to the SSW the land sloping up gradually from the sea to a moderate height, with more open than wooded ground, and but little brush; but the soil appeared sandy, and the grass but thinly grown. The hummocky mountains still retained their general figure in the more interior parts.¹²

As they proceeded, the shore no longer preserved any regular line of direction, but fell back into sandy bights. Hauling off for the night, a little to the westward of a small rocky and barren island, lying about four miles from the land, at six o'clock the following morning¹³ they came in with it again, near where they had left it the preceding evening, and began their course along the shore, which trended to the SSW in an irregular manner, with a sandy country at its back.

At eleven o'clock they passed within a mile of a high grassy cape, which is the seaward extremity of a ridge, that, rising up by a gentle ascent, retreats and joins some chains of lofty mountains. A small rocky island lay two miles from it to the WSW. At noon the latitude was $40^{\circ} 55' 25''$, and the longitude $147^{\circ} 16' 30''$.

Early in the afternoon a gap in the land situated at the back of a deep narrow bight, which had for some time attracted attention, began to assume the appearance of an inlet, which they bore away to examine; and, after running three miles, they found they had shut in the line of the coast on each side¹⁴, and were impelled forward by a strong inset of tide. Continuing their course for the gap, some back points within the entrance soon became distinguishable, and the rapidity of the flood tide was observed to increase with the increasing contiguity of the shores. When the sloop was on the point of entering the harbour, which appeared to be fairly open before her, the water shoaled suddenly, and she struck the ground and lay fast; but fortunately the strong flood in a few minutes dragged her over into deep water, and shot her into the entrance with uncommon velocity.¹⁵

Having advanced within the entrance, the harbour began to expand itself in a kind of large basin. Its shores were broken into points

and projections, between some of which the great strength of the flood tide led them to expect it would branch off into arms. The land lying immediately upon its borders was low, but not flat; well wooded; and those points near which the sloop passed were clothed with a very unusual degree of verdure. The sun being down, the vessel was anchored for the night, and the next day they proceeded with their researches.¹⁶

They were employed during sixteen days in the examination of this place; and the result of the observations which were made by Mr. Bass in different parts of it, and the neighbouring country, are thrown by that gentleman into one general account.¹⁷

This harbour, or inlet, which was named by the governor Port Dalrymple, in compliment to Alexander Dalrymple, esq¹⁸ takes its course from the SE between two chains of rounded mountains, stretching inland from the sea with an almost imperceptible increase of elevation; and, after gradually approximating each other, seemed to unite, at the distance of between thirty and forty miles, in a body of rugged mountains more lofty than themselves. These two chains in their relative positions formed an acute angle, being at their greatest distance asunder, as measured along the sea coast, only sixteen miles.

Being limited in point of time (twelve weeks having been deemed by the governor sufficient for the execution of this service)¹⁹, the apprehension of losing a wind favourable for the prosecution of the principal object of the voyage, that of sailing through the strait, deterred them from attempting to reach the head of the river; but it was hardly to be doubted, that its principal source proceeded from some part near the point of union of the two chains of mountains. Allowing this supposition, a great part of its stream must be perfectly fresh; for at the place where they ended their examination, which was not more than half the whole supposed distance or length of the river, it had become half fresh half salt, although its breadth was from half a mile to a mile and a half, and its depth eight or nine fathoms.

The country which Mr. Bass had an opportunity of observing, was a certain portion of that lying within the angle formed by the two chains of mountains, and more especially of the parts which lay contiguous to the water, rather than of those situated in the vicinity of the chains.²⁰

The quality of the ground, taking it in the aggregate, was much superior to that of the borders of any of the salt water inlets of New South Wales, Western Port excepted (seen by Mr Bass on his first excursion in the whale boat). The vegetable mould was, however, found to be of no great depth, and was sometimes, perhaps advantageously, mixed with small quantities of sand.

The best of the soil was found upon the sides of sloping hills, and in the broad valleys between them. Some parts that were low and

level had a wet and peat-like surface, bounded by small tracts of flowering shrubs and odoriferous plants, that perfumed the air with the fragrance of their oils.* These retained in general the appearance of those in New South Wales, while they were in reality very different. The rich and vivid colouring of the more northern flowers, and that soft and exquisite gradation of their tints, for which they are so singularly distinguished hold with those here, but in a less eminent degree. The two countries present a perfect similarity in this, that the more barren spots are the most gaily adorned. The curious florist, and scientific botanist, would find ample subject of exultation in their different researches in Port Dalrymple.²¹

Except in these places²², the grass grows not in tufts, but covers the land equally with a short nutritious herbage, better adapted, possibly, to the bite of small than of large cattle. The food for the latter grows in the bottoms of the valleys and upon the damp flats. A large proportion of the soil promised a fair return to the labours of the cultivator, and a lesser ensures an ample reward; but the greater part would perhaps be more advantageously employed, if left for pasturage, than if thrown into cultivation; it would be poor as the one, but rich as the other.²³

Water was found in runs more than in ponds, and, though not abundant, was far from being scarce.

The west side of the river furnishes the largest quantity of the best ground, because the mountains on that side are at a greater distance than those on the east. The country lying near the west arm is chiefly rather flat, and might be converted to many useful purposes, both in agriculture and in pasturage, for which last it is probably well calculated. If it should ever be proposed to make a settlement here, this part seems to merit very particular attention.

The best land seems to be that fine hilly country which lies at the back of an island named Middle-Island; but access to it is not easy on account of a large shoal extending along its front, which is dry at low water, as far out as the island itself. The shape of the land is very pleasingly variegated with hill and valley; the soil is in general a rich black mould, shallow, and even sometimes a little stony upon the hills, but in the valleys is of abundant depth and richness. A close coat of grass of a uniform thickness over-spreads it every where. It appears to be watered only by swampy ponds, which in many places are at some distance from each other; but it is hardly to be doubted, that wells sunk in the valleys would furnish water sufficient for all domestic purposes.

* In this particular they differ from the flowering shrubs of New South Wales; none or very few of which were ever found, beautiful as they were in other respects, to possess the smallest particle of odour.

In sailing up the river, the points and shores present an appearance of fertility that astonishes an eye used to those of the rocky harbours of New South Wales. They are mostly grassed as well as wooded close down to the water side, the wood, perhaps, thin; the grass every where thick, every where a dark luxuriant vegetation, that, either from the thinness of the wood, or the gradual rounding of the hills and points, is visible to a very considerable extent of ground.

The tides run so uncommonly rapid, that if the port were colonised, and the principal town built, as it no doubt would be, near the entrance, the produce of the villages and farms scattered along its banks might be brought to market with the greatest ease, expedition, and certainty.

The heavy timber is chiefly gum tree of various species; of which two are different from any that have been yet seen in this country. Nothing new was observed in the quality of the wood; but, from the few trees that were felled, it was thought to be more sound at heart than they are usually met with. The she oaks were more inclined to spread than grow tall. The smaller trees and shrubs resemble, with some variety, those of the continent.* The tree producing the yellow gum is of a very diminutive size; but, unlike that of Cape Barren Island, it bears a reed correspondent to itself. These were going into flower, and their length was only from nine inches to two feet.†²⁴

The few rocky shores of the river presented nothing remarkable, being generally either of a rough iron-stone, or a soft grid-stone.

The grey kangaroo of a very large size, abounded in the open forest; the brushes were tenanted by the smaller black kind, or, as it is named by the natives of Port Jackson, the Wal-li-bah.²⁵

The plumage of the parrots forms a gloomy contrast with the rich lustre of those near the settlement, their colours being rather grave than gay. The melancholy cry of the bell-bird (*dil boong*, after which Bennillong named his infant child) seems to be unknown here.²⁶ Many aquatic birds, both web-footed and waders, frequent the arms and coves of the river; but the black swans alone are remarkable in point of number.²⁷ Mr. Bass once made a rough calculation of three hundred

* Mr. Pennant allows its claim to this distinction. Vide Pennant's 'Outlines of the Globe.'²⁸

† This dwarf gum tree is of much use to the natives of New South Wales, as may be seen by the following distribution of its properties. The gum from the body of the tree, which they term *Goolgad-ye*, is used for repairing their canoes. Of the reed they make a *fiz-gig*, which they call *Moo-ting*. Of the grass or rushes which grow at the top of the tree, they make torches, named *Boo-do*. A gum which they extract from these rushes, and which is named *Wang-ye*, they use in fastening the joints of their spears; and from the center of the tree they procure a loathsome worm, which they call *Boo-roo-gal*, and deem a great luxury. The tree itself is named *Ye-gal*.

swimming within the space of a quarter of a mile square; and heard the 'dying song' of some scores; that song, so celebrated by the poets of former times, exactly resembled the creaking of a rusty sign on a windy day! Not more than two thirds of any of the flocks which they fell in with could fly, the rest could do no more than flap along upon the surface of the water, being either moulting, or not yet come to their full feather and growth, which they require two years to attain. They swam and flapped alternately, and went along surprisingly fast. It was some times a long chase, but the boat generally tired them out. When in danger, and speed makes no part of their escape, they immerse their bodies so far, that the water makes a passage between their neck and back, and in this position they would frequently turn aside a heavy load of shot. They seemed to be endowed with much sagacity; in chase they soon learned the weakest point of their pursuers, and, instead of swimming directly from them, as they did at first, always endeavoured in the most artful manner to gain the wind, which could only be prevented by anticipating their movements, and by a dexterous management of the boat.²⁹

The swan is said to feed upon fish, frogs, and water-slugs; but in the gizzards of many that at different times and in different places were examined by Mr. Bass, nothing ever appeared but small water plants, mostly a kind of broad leaved grass, and some little sand. To their affection for their young he had seen some lamentable sacrifices; but of their fierceness, at least when opposed to man, or their great strength, he had seen no instance.

Among other reptiles were found the snake with venomous fangs, and some large brown guanoes.³⁰

This country is inhabited by men; and, if any judgment could be formed from the number of huts which they met, in about the same proportion as in New South Wales. Their extreme shyness prevented any communication. They never even got sight of them but once, and then at a great distance.³¹ They had made fires abreast of where the sloop was at anchor; but as soon as the boat approached the shore they ran off into the woods. Their huts, of which seven or eight were frequently found together like a little encampment, were constructed of bark torn in long stripes from some neighbouring tree, after being divided transversely at the bottom, in such breadths as they judge their strength would be able to disengage from its adherence to the wood, and the connecting bark on each side. It is then broken into convenient lengths, and placed, slopingwise, against the elbowing part of some dead branch that has fallen off from the distorted limbs of the gum tree; and a little grass is sometimes thrown over the top. But, after all their labour, they have not ingenuity sufficient to place the slips of bark in such a manner as to preclude the free admission of the rain. It is somewhat strange, that in the latitude

of 41°, want should not have sharpened their ideas to the invention of some more convenient habitation, especially since they have been left by nature without the confined dwelling of a hollow tree, or the more agreeable accommodation of a hole under the rock.

The single utensil that was observed lying near their huts was a kind of basket made of long wiry grass, that grows along the shores of the river. The two ends of a large bunch of this grass are tied to the two ends of a smaller bunch; the large one is then spread out to form the basket, while the smaller answers the purpose of a handle. Their apparent use is, to bring shell fish from the mud banks where they are to be collected. The large heaps of mussel-shells that were found near each hut proclaimed the mud banks to be a principal source of food. The most scrupulous examination of their fire places discovered nothing, except a few bones of the opossum, a squirrel, and here and there those of a small kangaroo. No remains of fish were even seen.³²

The mode of taking the opossum seemed to be similar to that practised in New South Wales*, except that it is probable they use a rope in ascending the tree; for once, at the foot of a notched tree, about eight feet of a two inch rope made of grass was found with a knot in it, near which it appeared to have broken.

A canoe was never met with, and concurring circumstances shewed that this convenience was unknown here; nor was any tree ever observed to be barked in the manner requisite for this purpose; though birds bred upon little islands to which access might be had in the smallest canoe.³³ Those made of solid timber seemed to be wholly out of the question. The roughness of the notches left by the stone hatchet upon the bark of the trees bore no very favourable testimony to its excellence. They were rather the marks of a rough than of a sharp-edged tool, and seemed more beaten than cut, which was not the case with the marks left by the mo-go, or stone hatchet, of New South Wales.³⁴

Hence, from the little that has been seen of the condition of our own species in this place, it appears to be much inferior in some essential points of convenience³⁵ to that of the despised inhabitants of the continent. How miserable a being would the latter be, his canoe taken from him, his stone hatchet blunted, his hut pervious to the smallest shower of rain, and few or no excavations in the rocks to fly to! But happiness, like every thing else, exists only by comparison with the stage above and the stage below our own. The circumstances which occasioned this difference between the people of two countries so near to each other, and so much alike in their natural productions, must remain hidden from our observation, until perhaps some permanent European settlement shall be made in Van Diemen's land.³⁶

* Vide Vol I p. 456 Appendix.

The range of the thermometer, taken in various parts of the port, was at night from 49° to 52° , and at noon from 58° to 64° .

On the 20th of November they left Port Dalrymple with a light breeze at NE and proceeded very slowly to the westward. At daylight the following morning, the wind shifted to the W by N³⁷ which drove them back to Furneaux's islands³⁸, where, the gale continuing at west, they were kept until the 3rd of December, when they were enabled to proceed to the westward. The land here trended to the WNW as far as was visible through the haze, which allowed them only to distinguish that it was high and uneven. At noon the latitude was $40^{\circ} 58'$, and the longitude $146^{\circ} 44'$.³⁹ Their progress was slow, and unavoidably at too great a distance from the shore to form any just idea of the country; but what was seen of it appeared high and mountainous, the mountains forming into hummocks and low peaks, to which a few large shapeless knobs added a great singularity of appearance. On the haze clearing away, and the shore being distinctly seen, it appeared rocky, but wooded nearly down to the water's edge. Here and there were seen spaces of open ground, some of which sloped toward the sea, and had a few large trees growing irregularly upon them. A remarkable peaked mountain, some few miles inland, might have been thought, from its shape and height, to have been once a volcano. A very singular lump of high level, or table land, lay at a few miles to the westward in the coast line; and at some distance beyond it, a point appeared with three knobs of land lying off it, resembling islands. This land was named Table Cape.⁴⁰

To the extreme eastern point of this land, a fine easterly breeze had brought them at daylight of the 6th; when they found that what they had on the preceding evening taken to be islands were three lumps or ridges of the point itself, lessening in bulk as they advanced toward its seaward extremity. The very uncommon figure of this point may perhaps be best conceived by comparing it to a spear with several barbs. It was extremely barren and rocky. Beyond the point, the coast trended more northerly, but fell back into an extensive bay, with a sandy beach in its rear. The western point of this bay was formed by a high, steep, and round bluff, named Circular Head, that might easily be taken for an island, but was a peninsula. The land behind was of moderate height, and rose gradually from the sea. It was clothed in a poor coat of either grass or short brush; among which were seen some dwarf gum trees, that appeared to be in a sickly and dying state, apparently for want of sufficient soil to expand in.

Towards noon, soon after passing Circular Head, the outermost land in sight stretched so far to the northward, that the course to clear it was NNW. It formed like two hummocks, and in steering for it they were compelled to leave a large bight unexamined. The

coast at its back was too distant to form any judgment of it, except in the general outline. Its westernmost part seemed broken and intersected, like islands and gaps; but, as the wind blew fresh and directly into it, they passed on.

Nothing new presented itself on the following day, but some small flights of sooty petrels.

On the 8th, being threatened with a gale, they came to anchor under the land, off a small beach on its NE part, where the SW wind could not molest the vessel.⁴¹ Here Mr. Bass landed to examine the country, but found it impenetrable. The tall sturdy brush wood grew so close that their dogs could hardly make their way through it. Large patches appeared to have been burnt many months ago, but the small brush and creeping vines only were destroyed; the closeness of the blackened saplings were still irresistible. A few starved gum trees erected their sickly heads above the brush, and the whole wore an aspect of poverty which the sandy soil confirmed. And yet this place was inhabited by men, as was shown by the old fire places strewn round with shells of the sea ear.⁴² The rocks were composed of quartz, probably a species of granite, but much unlike that which formed Furneaux's Islands.

Leaving this place on the 9th, they steered for the outermost land in sight, which bore to the southward of west, and was distant three or four leagues. After rounding the seaward end of the land under which they had anchored, its shores fell back, and at last discovered to them that it was an island of from fifteen to twenty miles in circuit, and situated between four and five from the main. It was with the greatest astonishment that they recollected the fire places and sea shells which they had the preceding evening seen upon the island. That the inhabitants of this part of Van Diemen's land should possess canoes capable of crossing over four or five miles of open sea, while those of Port Dalrymple were without any, seemed highly improbable. The island itself was certainly unequal to the maintenance of any settled inhabitants, and yet there were unequivocal vestiges of men upon it. Long and frequent reflection upon facts in themselves so contradictory had never produced any rational solution of the difficulty. This island took the descriptive name of Three Hummock Island.

For several hours during the early part of the morning, a vast stream of sooty petrels issued from the deep bight which had been left unexplored, and passed the vessel on their way to the westward. There must have been some millions of birds. Thence they were well assured there was at least one island in that bight, if not more than one, as they had imagined.

Having passed within a mile of a pointed part of the main, which in height and starved vegetation very much resembled Three Hummock Island, towards noon they came up with some land, which proved

to be a small island, high and very steep; and a long swell, which had just before made its first appearance, broke violently upon it, making a furious surf on all sides. Its summit was whitened over with birds. With some difficulty a landing was effected at the foot of a chasm filled up with loose stones; and, after a slight rencontre with some seals that stood above, they reached the top. The birds they found were albatrosses innumerable.⁴³ The spread of their wings was from seven to nine feet. Their colour was more white than black, and the appearance of their visitors did not occasion much disturbance among them, even when they approached close to them.⁴⁴ This was the season of their breeding. The females sat upon nests not more than a foot and a half apart, built of muddy earth, bound with coarse grass, raised about four inches from the ground, and formed into a concavity of nearly that depth, with a diameter of five or six inches. One young bird only was in each nest: it was of the size of a small pullet, but at that time covered with a beautifully white down. The shapeless lump at some distance resembled a ball of cotton. Some nests held an addled egg of a dingy white colour, and equal in size to that of a goose. The nests were so near each other, and the birds so conscious of the great strength of their sharp bills, that in going through them⁴⁵ the voyagers were obliged to make use of their seal clubs, to procure themselves a passage. Even the young ones spouted plentiful mouthfuls of a not inodorous oil upon them.

The island, which obtained the name of Albatross Island⁴⁶, was a mere mass of stone, without any other vegetation than a few tufts of coarse grass. Besides albatrosses, it afforded shelter to a few scores of hair seals, and the large gull. The latitude was $40^{\circ} 24'$, the longitude $145^{\circ} 02'$.

Several other islands were seen to the southward, and the coast of the main seemed trending in the same direction.⁴⁷ A deep bight lay at the back of these islands, with points and openings visible in its most distant part. There was reason to believe, that the sea here had a communication through into the unexplored bight to the eastward of Three Hummock Island; in which case the pointed part of the main, whose vegetation bore so great a resemblance to that of Three Hummock Island, would also be an island. They passed sufficiently near to determine that they were high, steep, and difficult of access.⁴⁸ Their tops and sloping parts were grown over with either coarse grass or short brush; but not any trees appeared. The largest might be seven or eight miles in circuit, the smaller were mere masses of rock of various sizes; and the whole cluster, in number about twelve, including Three Hummock Island, obtained the name of Hunter's Isles.

A fresh gale at ENE and a heavy swell from the SW drove the vessel fast to the southward and westward; and on the 11th, the gale having moderated, they stretched in for the land, a large extent

of which was indistinctly visible through a light haze that hung about the horizon. At noon the latitude was $41^{\circ} 13'$, and the longitude $148^{\circ} 58'$. With a fresh breeze at NNE they bore away along the shore, which trends to the SE by E and was distant three or four miles.

From a shore of beach, with short rocky points at intervals, the land rose gradually to a considerable height, the aspect of which was barren and brushy, and the soil sandy. Several short reefs of rocks lay in front of the beaches, and broke the long swell into a surf of a tremendous appearance.

Dreading a gale of wind from the west, which was threatening, and might have proved fatal to their little vessel, they hauled out to the SSW; but the weather remained moderate.⁴⁹

On the following morning⁵⁰ the wind flew round to the northward, and they continued their route along the shore. Early in the forenoon they passed a singularly formed point, with a number of lumps of rock lying some two or three miles off it to the SW. It resembled an artificial pier, or mole, with warehouses upon it, and a light-house on the end next the water. Large masses of detached oblong rocks gave the appearance of warehouses, and a remarkably long one standing upon its end, that of the light-house.

Their latitude at noon was $42^{\circ} 02'$ and the longitude $145^{\circ} 16'$; the coast still trended to the SSE and the land began to change that uniformly regular figure which it had hitherto preserved. It was becoming mountainous and uneven, but was still barren.

CHAPTER XVI

The Norfolk passes the strait—Observations thereon—Proceeds to the southward—Passes the SW Cape; and S Cape—Remarks on the latter—De Witt's Isles—Storm Bay Passage—Tasman's Head—Fluted Cape—Frederick Henry Bay—Enter the Derwent River, first seen in the ship Duke, of Bengal—Observations on the Derwent—Some natives seen—Particulars of one—Venomous snake—One destroys itself—Comparison between New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land—Arrive at Port Jackson—Advantages of the Strait

MR. Bass and his fellow voyager, Lieutenant Flinders, did not hesitate now to think that they had passed through the strait, and from the Pacific had entered the southern Indian ocean; for what within the extent of a vast sea could give birth to the monstrous swell that was rolling in before their eyes? and the coast was evidently trending towards the SW cape.

Mr. Bass says (with all the feeling and spirit of an explorer), that 'he already began to taste the enjoyment resulting from the completion of this discovery, which had been commenced in the whale-boat, under a complication of anxieties, hazard, and fatigue, known only to those who conducted her;' modestly sharing the praises, to which he alone was entitled, with those who accompanied him.

It was worthy of remark (Mr. Bass says), that the northern shore of the strait from Wilson's Promontory (seen in the whale-boat) to Western Port resembled the bluff bold shore of an open sea, with a swell rolling in, and a large surf breaking upon it; while the southern shore, or what is the coast of Van Diemen's land, appeared like the inner shore of a cluster of islands, whose outer parts break off the great weight of the sea. The cause of this is immediately obvious, on recollecting that the swell of the Indian ocean enters the strait from the southward of west. The greater part of the southern shore lies in a bight, whose western extreme is Hunter's Isles, and the NW Cape of Van Diemen's land. Now as the swell comes from the southward, as well as the westward, it must, after striking upon the northwest part of the southern shore, evidently run on in a direction somewhat diagonal with the two sides of the strait, until it expands itself upon the northern shore, where both swell and surf are found. But to the southward of this diagonal line the swell must quickly take off, and totally disappear, long before it can reach the shore to make a surf. Hence arises the difference.

That the swell of the Indian ocean comes, by far the greater part

of the way, from the southward of west, can hardly be doubted, since it is well known that the prevailing winds are from that quarter.

Early in the afternoon (of the 11th) a piece of land stood out from the line of the coast like an island, but it was soon found to be joined to the main by a sandy beach. The shore beyond it looked rugged and craggy, and the land equalled the most sterile and stoney that had been seen. At night the vessel stood off to the westward from abreast of a pyramidal rock lying close to the main. At daylight the following morning, they came in again with the land at the same place, and ran along the shore with a fresh breeze at NW, the coast trending in a waving line to the SSE.

Towards noon the coast began to rise into chains of lofty mountains, which ran along in nearly the same line as the coast. The latitude was $43^{\circ} 07'$, the longitude $145^{\circ} 42'$. A large smoke that got up astern of the vessel was the first sign of inhabitants that had been seen upon this west coast, the appearance of which was miserably barren.¹

On the morning of the 13th they found that they had been carried in the night to leeward of a break in the land, which had been seen the preceding evening, and had the appearance of being the entrance to a harbour. The north point of this imaginary inlet was named Point St. Vincent. The coast here trended to the eastward, the land of which was mountainous and steep to the sea. Some islands were in sight ahead, lying near the land.²

At 8 in the evening³ they passed the SW cape of Van Diemen's land, hitherto known as that of New Holland. It is a narrow piece of land, projecting from the higher land at no great distance, with two flattish hummocks, that gave it some little resemblance to the Ram Head near Plymouth. Having passed the Cape, they hauled up, and went between the islands, which are De Witt's Isles, and the main. At sunset they were about a mile and a half from the South Cape.

The south west and south Capes lie nearly east and west of each other, and are distant about fifteen leagues. The intermediate coast forms the southern boundary of Van Diemen's land; but if taken upon the more extensive scale of the whole southern hemisphere, it appears, as the south point of New Holland, to be of equal respectability with the extremity of Terra del Fuego, and of the Cape of Good Hope, the south points of the continents of America and Africa.

The relative situations of these three points, when viewed upon a chart drawn on the plane of the equator, or upon an artificial globe, are particularly striking. They will be found to lie at nearly equal distances from each other in the circumference, and each extending itself so directly towards the south, that, if continued on in the same line, they would certainly meet somewhere near the pole. The

effect that is produced upon the whole globe, by this peculiar disposition of three of its most prominent points, seems indeterminable.

Like that of Terra del Fuego, the extremity of Van Diemen's land presents a rugged and determined front to the icy regions of the south pole; and, like it, seems once to have extended further south than it does at present. To a very unusual elevation is added an irregularity of form, that justly entitles it to rank among the foremost of the grand and wildly magnificent scenes of nature. It abounds with peaks and ridges, gaps and fissures, that not only disdain the smallest uniformity of figure, but are ever changing shape, as the point of view shifts. Beneath this strange confusion, the western part of this waving coast-line observes a regularity equally remarkable as the wild disorder which prevails above. Lofty ridges of mountain, bounded by tremendous cliffs, project from two to four miles into the sea, at nearly equal distances from each other, with a breadth varying from two miles to two and a half. The bights or bays lying between them are backed by sandy beaches. These vast buttresses appear to be the southern extremities of the mountains of Van Diemen's land; which, it can hardly be doubted, have once projected into the sea far beyond their present abrupt termination, and have been united with the now detached land, De Witt's Isles.

If a corresponding height of similar strata was observable on the islands and on the main, it would amount to a proof that they were originally connected; but this proof was wanting.⁴ The same kind of strata appeared in both; but, as far as could be determined in passing hastily by, the necessary correspondence seemed to be deficient. They did not land upon either the islands or the main; but two kinds of rock, one with strata and the other without, were plainly discernible. That without strata formed by far the largest part; it appeared whitish and shining, was certainly a quartz, and probably a granite. The layers of the rock with strata were of various dark colours, and perfectly distinct.

It was evident, that land so much exposed to the violence of extensive oceans must have undergone some very material changes, by the incessant attrition of their vast waves. Two of the isles, either from this or a more sudden cause, have so far deviated from their centre, that their parallel strata form angles of between sixteen⁵ and eighteen degrees in one instance, and in another between twenty-five and thirty degrees, with the horizontal line. But it is difficult to explain, by the action of water, how a large block of the white stone without strata is caused to overhang an almost perpendicular corner of one of the islands, which beneath that block consists of the dark coloured stone lying in strata.⁶

De Witt's Isles, (so named, probably, by Tasman)⁷ twelve in number,

are of various sizes. The two largest are from three to four miles in circuit. Their sides are steep, but their height is inferior to that of the main. The largest is the lowest. The smaller isles are little more than large lumps of rock, of which that named by Captain Cook the mew stone is the southernmost. Their aspect, like that of the main, bespeaks extreme sterility; but, superior to the greater part of it, they produce a continued covering of brush; and upon the sloping sides of some of their gullies are a few stunted, half dead gum trees.

They could not account for the vestiges of fires that appeared upon the two inner large islands; the innermost in particular, which lay at some distance from the nearest point of the main, was burnt in patches upon different parts of it. It must have been effected either by lightning, or by the hand of man; but it was so much unlike the usual effects of the former, that, with all its difficulties, they chose to attribute it to the latter cause.

A great smoke that arose at the back of one of the bights showed the main to be inhabited; but they could not suppose the people of this place to be furnished with canoes, when those of Adventure Bay, in their neighbourhood, were unprovided with them. Nothing, therefore, was left to their choice, but to allow that they might transport themselves over, either upon logs of wood, or by swimming across: and, as the most probable reward of such an exertion would be the capture of birds, whilst breeding, or the seizure of their eggs, the utility of spreading fires in facilitating such operations is obvious.

The south cape may be easily distinguished from any other projection in its vicinity. Besides being the southernmost, it is a promontory making like a foreland, and sloping very gradually as it runs towards the sea, where it ends in a perpendicular cliff.

About sunset the fresh NW wind died away suddenly; and a strong squall from the westward, with thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, soon carried them round the south cape, and, by dark, brought them off what was formerly called Storm Bay, where they hauled to the wind with the sloop's head up the bay, intending, in the morning, to proceed by this Storm Bay passage into the Derwent river.

The night was squally, and by day light the next morning (the 14th), it was found that the vessel had drifted across the mouth of Storm Bay, or more properly Storm Bay Passage. Tasman's Head, its eastern point, bore NE distant three miles. Being too far to leeward to fetch up the passage, and the gale continuing, they bore away round Tasman's Head, and hauled up along shore for Adventure Bay.

Nothing remarkable was observed about Tasman's Head, except two small islands lying off it, at the distance of half or three quarters of a mile; and close to them were the two conical basaltic rocks named by Captain Furneaux the Friars. The vegetation upon the innermost of the two small islands had been burnt in a manner similar

to that on the De Witt's isles. If it were possible to account for those fires in any other way than by the agency of man, it would be more satisfactory, than to suppose that people, always believed to be without canoes, had crossed over from a rather steep and rocky head, to an island equally rocky, but more steep.

Having passed Fluted Cape, a fine piece of basalt, and Penguin Island, they fetched up under Cape Frederick Henry, the north point of Adventure Bay; but, as the wind blew strong directly off it, and the sloop was light and leewardly, they bore away round the Cape Frederick Henry, hauling upon the north side of it into the bay of that name, purposing to go into the Derwent river, discovered a few years since by Mr. Hayes, master of the ship *Duke*, of Bengal⁸: but, finding that they were likely to lose ground by tacking, they stood into Henshaw's bay (so named by Hayes), and were greatly surprised to find that, instead of its being a mere shallow bight, as laid down in Mr. Hayes's chart, it extended many miles to the northward. The whole now bears the name of Frederick Henry Bay; that given by Hayes is lost.⁹ In this very extensive bay they remained a week, traversing and measuring various parts of its shores.

The surrounding country was found to be miserable, presenting but very little that was fit even for pasturage, and none good enough for cultivation, except near a shallow lagoon on the west side, on the border of which were seven or eight hundred acres of low ground, of a black mould, rather sandy, which might be cultivated with great advantage. Contiguous to the best part, was a large fresh water swamp, overgrown with reeds and bulrushes.

In the evening of the 21st they entered the mouth of the Derwent.

In passing between two islands¹⁰, the heads of the seaweed, which, from its size, is named the Gigantic, were showing themselves above the surface in six or eight fathoms water: a diminutive plant when compared with those of the kind seen in higher latitudes, but of vast magnitude in comparison with the generality of seaweeds.

On their various movements in the Derwent, Mr. Bass is silent, confining his narrative to a general account of what he learned and saw of the neighbouring country.¹¹

If the Derwent river have any claim to respectability, it is indebted for it more to the paucity of inlets into Van Diemen's land, than to any intrinsic merits of its own. After a sleepy course of not more than twenty-five or twenty-seven miles to the NW it falls into Frederick Henry Bay. Its breadth there is two miles and a quarter, and its depth ten fathoms. A few hundred yards above its mouth, it is joined, on the west side, by the Storm Bay Passage, and this union makes an island of that slip of land which is Adventure Bay. This island, the Derwent river, and the Storm Bay Passage, were the discovery of Mr. Hayes, of which he made a chart; wherein it was found,

by the minute examination of the whole scene which it now underwent, that the smallest runs had been magnified into rivers, and coves into bays and ports. Such glaring errors could not be suffered to exist; but the name, where it was possible, was retained, though the geographical term was necessarily altered.¹²

This dull lifeless stream, the Derwent, is so little affected by the tides, that its navigation is extremely tedious with a foul wind. It takes its way through a country that on the east and north sides it hilly, on the west and north mountainous. The hills to the eastward arise immediately from the banks; but the mountains to the westward have retired to the distance of a few miles from the water, and have left in their front hilly land similar to that on the east side. All the hills are very thinly set with light timber, chiefly short she oaks; but are admirably covered with thick nutritious grass, in general free from brush or patches of shrubs. The soil in which it grows is a black vegetable mould, deep only in the valleys, frequently very shallow, with occasionally a small mixture of sand or small stones. Many large tracts of land appear cultivable both for maize and wheat, but which, as pasture land, would be excellent.

The hills descend with such gentle slopes, that the valleys between them are extensive and flat. Several contain an indeterminate depth of rich soil, capable of supporting the most exhausting vegetation, and are tolerably well watered by chains of small ponds, or occasional drains, which empty themselves into the river by a cove or creek.

One mountain to the west, lying about three miles from the water, and so remarkably conspicuous as to be seen from every part of the Derwent and its vicinity, Mr. Bass ascended; and he was much surprised to find it abounding with fine tall gum-tree timber uncommonly straight.

The shore on the east side of the river, proceeding up, is covered with a good but shallow soil¹³, and lightly wooded; cultivable for the greater part with any kind of grain, and the whole fit for pasturage, though, perhaps, not sufficiently watered for large cattle which require much drink.

On the west side the country rises too suddenly into stony hills to be in general so good as in most other places. It would, however, afford tolerable pasturage; and a few patches of eighty or one hundred acres each were excellent arable land.

The shore here, as in many other parts of the river, exhibited signs of internal or subterraneous disturbance. The strata of cliffs were broken and disjoined, lying sloping in different directions. Near a small point several pieces of petrified wood, and lumps of stone of every kind and every size, were enveloped, or rather stuck into the matter of the rock, which, although in colour much like a yellow tinged clay, yet had the usual rough porous surface peculiar to substances that

have been in a state of fusion. It was here, as in other places, hard, but did not scintillate with steel, and was divided, by lines of a still harder iron-tinged stone, into squares and parallelograms of various sizes. From one of these intersecting lines, Mr. Bass took a small lump of this ferruginous stone, that seemed to have bubbled up, and to have hardened in the form of an ill-shaped bunch of small grapes. Some of the neighbouring cliffs, for several yards, were formed into basaltic columns.¹⁴

In walking across one of the steep heads between two small bays, he met with a large deep hole in the ground, that appeared to have been occasioned by the falling-in of the earth which had formerly occupied its space. Its extent was about twenty-two yards by seventeen; its depth perhaps sixty feet. The sides were not excavated, but rather smooth and perpendicular. They were rocks of the same yellow tinge as those of the shore. A little surf that washed up within it shewed a communication with the river, by a narrow subterraneous passage of some ten or sixteen feet in height, and, according to the distance of the hole from the edge of the cliff, about thirty-five yards in length. Appearances seemed to agree, that the period at which this earth fell in could not be very remote.

Continuing on the west side from Point William to Shoal Point (places named by Mr. Hayes), the land is too stony upon the hills for cultivation, but is proper for pasturage. The valleys are, as usual, adapted to grain.

The land round Prince of Wales's Cove is rather level, and frequently clayey: the worst of it produces excellent food for cattle, even up to the foot of the high mountain lying at its back. Being a stiff close soil, it is perhaps adapted to the growth of grape vines, rather than of grain. About three hundred acres of open ground, called by Mr. Hayes King George's Plains (could this have been in derision?) seem well calculated for this purpose, and for this only.

The land at the head of Risdon creek, on the east side, seems preferable to any other on the banks of the Derwent. The creek runs winding between two steep hills, and ends in a chain of ponds that extends into a fertile valley of great beauty. For half a mile above the head of the creek, the valley is contracted and narrow; but the soil is extremely rich, and the fields are well covered with grass. Beyond this it suddenly expands, and becomes broad and flat at the bottom, whence arise long grassy slopes, that by a gentle but increasing ascent continue to mount the hills on each side, until they are hidden from the view by the woods of large timber which overhang their summits. With this handsome disposition of the ground, the valley extends several miles to the SE in the figure of a small segment of a circle. The tops of its hills, though stony, produce abundance of tall timber,

which, as it descends the slopes, diminishes in size, and thins off to a few scattered she oaks and gum trees, interspersed with small coppices of the beautiful flowering fern.

The soil along the bottom, and to some distance up the slopes, is a rich vegetable mould, apparently hardened by a small mixture of clay, which grows a large quantity of thick, juicy grass, and some few patches of close underwood.

Herdman's Cove, (so named by Lieutenant Flinders from the surrounding country)¹⁵ above Risdon Creek, has a large tract of good pasture land lying at its head. The country, which is unusually thin of timber, is finely rounded into grassy hills of various moderate ascent. The soil consists of more brown earth than black vegetable mould; upon the sides and tops of the hills, it is frequently stony; but in some of the valleys rich and fine, and capable of profitable cultivation. A chain of ponds intersecting the hills afforded an almost continual stream of fresh water into the head of the Cove.

As it was not supposed that the sloop could proceed above Herdsman's Cove, Mr. Bass and his companion went up the river in her boat, imagining that one tide would enable them to reach its source; but in this they were mistaken, falling, as they believed, several miles short of it. Where the returning tide met them, the water had become perfectly fresh; the stream was two hundred and thirty yards in breadth, and in depth three fathoms. It was wedged in between high grassy hills that descended to the river upon a quick slope, and had a grand appearance. But the only cultivable land that they saw was some few breaks in the hills, and some narrow slips that were found at their foot close to the water's side.

In their way up, a human voice saluted them from the hills¹⁶; on which they landed, carrying with them one of several swans which they had just shot. Having nearly reached the summit, two females, with a short covering hanging loose from their shoulders¹⁷, suddenly appeared at some little distance before them, snatched up each a small basket, and scampered off. A man then presented himself, and suffered them to approach him without any signs of fear or distrust. He received the swan joyfully, seeming to esteem it a treasure.

His language was unintelligible to them, as was theirs to him, although they addressed him in several of the dialects of New South Wales, and some few of the most common words of the South Sea Islands. With some difficulty they made him comprehend their wish to see his place of residence. He pointed over the hills, and proceeded onwards; but his pace was slow and wandering, and he often stopped under pretence of having lost the track; which led them to suspect that his only aim was, to amuse and tire them out. Judging, then, that in persisting to follow him they must lose the remaining part of the

flood tide, which was much more valuable to them than the sight of his hut could be, they parted from him in great friendship.

The most probable reason of his unwillingness to be their guide seemed, his not having a male companion near him; and his fearing that if he took them to his women, their charms might induce them to run off with them—a jealousy very common with the natives of the continent.

He was a short, slight made man of a middle age, with a countenance more expressive of benignity and intelligence than of that ferocity or stupidity which generally characterised the other natives; and his features were less flattened, or negro-like, than theirs. His face was blackened, and the top of his head was plastered with red earth. His hair was either naturally short and close, or had been rendered so by burning, and, although short and stiffly curled, they did not think it woolly.* He was armed with two ill made spears of solid wood.

No part of their dress attracted his attention, except the red silk handkerchief round their necks. Their fire arms were to him objects neither of curiosity nor fear.

This was the first man they had spoken with in Van Diemen's land, and his frank and open deportment led them not only to form a favourable opinion of the disposition of its inhabitants, but to conjecture that if the country was peopled in the usual numbers, he would not have been the only one whom they would have met. A circumstance which corroborated this supposition was, that in the excursions made by Mr. Bass into the country, having seldom any other society than his two dogs, he could have been no great object of dread to a people ignorant of the effects of fire arms, and would certainly have been hailed by any one who might have seen him.

They fell in with many huts along the different shores of the river, of the same bad construction as those of Port Dalrymple, but with fewer heaps of mussel shells lying near them. The natives of this place, probably, draw the principal part of their food from the woods; the bones of small animals, such as opossums, squirrels, kangaroo rats, and bandicoots, were numerous round their deserted fire-places; and the two spears which they saw in the hands of the man were similar to those used for hunting in other parts. Many trees also were observed to be notched.

No canoes were ever seen, nor any tree so barked as to answer that purpose. And yet all the islands in Frederick Henry Bay had evidently been visited.

* Mr. Raven, on his return to England in the *Buffalo*, putting into Adventure Bay, close by where this man was seen, cut off some undoubted wool from the head of a native that he fell in with there. This circumstance was unknown to Mr. Bass.

Besides the small quadrupeds already mentioned, they observed the grey and red kangaroo, but not in any numbers, and once they heard the tread of an emu.

The feathered tribes were apparently similar to those of Port Dalrymple. Here again they daily ate their swan, the flocks of which even exceeded those that they had before met with.

The most formidable among the reptiles was the black snake with venomous fangs, and so much in colour resembling a burnt stick, that a close inspection only could detect the difference. Mr. Bass once, with his eyes cautiously directed towards the ground, stepped over one which was lying asleep among some black sticks, and would have passed on without observing it, had not its rustling and loud hiss attracted his attention the moment afterwards.

He determined on taking him alive, in order to try the effect of his bite upon a hawk which was at that time in the sloop. In the contest, he turned round and bit himself severely; in a few minutes after which he was mastered. His exertions, however, were still vigorous, and Mr. Bass expected, as he began to recover himself, that they would increase; but in less than ten minutes he died. Having never before known a snake of this size to be killed by a few very slight blows with a stick so rotten as scarcely to bear the weight of its own blow, he was at a loss to conceive how death had so suddenly succeeded so much vigour in an animal so tenacious of life. Was it possible that his own bite could have been the cause? When, three hours afterwards, the skin was stripped off, the flesh for some distance round the marks of his teeth, was found inflamed and discoloured.¹⁸

The account of the Derwent river being now closed, and the whole of what was learned of Van Diemen's land related, it may not be improper, says Mr. Bass, to point out the manner in which this country and New South Wales appear to differ in their most essential quality, that of their soil.

In adjusting their comparative fertility, the contrasted disposition of their soils is much more prominent than any inequality in their quantity. They are poor countries; but, as far as the eye of discovery has yet penetrated into either, the cultivable soil of the latter is found lying in a few distinct patches of limited extent, and of varying quality; while the soil of the former, being more equally spread, those spots of abundant richness, or large wilds of unimproveable sterility, are much less frequently seen.

Although Van Diemen's land seems to possess few or none of those vast depths of soil with which the happiest spots of New South Wales are blessed; yet it seldom sickens the heart of its traveller with those extensive tracts which at once disarm industry, and leave the warmest imagination without one beguiling project.

In point of productive soil Mr. Bass gives the preponderance to Van Diemen's land.¹⁹

In one particular, which to the inhabitants of a civilized country is of the utmost importance, both countries are but too much alike: each is amply stored with water for the common purposes of life; but deficient in those large intersections of it which, in other more fortunate countries, so much facilitate the operations of man, and lead commerce to the door of even the most inland farmer.²⁰

Two rivers only, Port Dalrymple and the Derwent, are known to descend from Van Diemen's land; and by Point St Vincent possibly there may be a third. But two rivers, or even three, bear but a scanty proportion to the bulk of the island.

On the 3rd of January they left the Derwent, and proceeded to the northward, coasting the east side of Frederick Henry Bay, which was for the most part high and steep to the sea. The figure of the shore, between what is now called Cape Basaltes and Cape Pillar²¹, exhibited one of those great works of nature which seldom fail to excite surprise: it was all basaltic. The cape is a vast high wedge, which projects into the sea, surmounted by lofty single columns.²²

After passing Cape Pillar, some islands came in sight to the northward; but they did not fetch them, owing to the wind hanging in that quarter. On the following day²³, they reached within five or six miles of one of them, which in its general appearance bore some resemblance to Furneaux's Islands.²⁴ This group must be either Maria's or Schouten's islands, or both; but it was not determined to which they belonged.

On the 7th, having until that day had but indistinct views of the land, they saw Cape Barren Island. They did not pass through the channel, or passage, which divides Furneaux's Islands, but discovered why Captain Furneaux named the place the Bay of Shoals.²⁵

Early on the morning of the 8th they were among the islands lying off the Patriarchs. They were three in number; the largest of which was high, rocky, and barren, with a basis of granite, which, like that of Preservation Island, laid scattered about in large detached blocks. Mr. Bass landed upon the outermost, and found it well inhabited.²⁶ The various tribes had divided it into districts. One part was white with gannets, breeding in nests of earth and dried grass.²⁷ Petrels and penguins had their underground habitations in those parts of the island which had the most grass. The rocks of the shore, and blocks of granite, were occupied by the pied offensive shag²⁸ and common gull;²⁹ geese, red-bills and quails, lived in common, and the rest was appropriated to the seals, who seemed to be the lords of the domain. Mr. Bass remarked³⁰ with surprise, that though the principal herd scampered off like sheep, as is usual on the first approach, yet the males, who possessed a rock to themselves, where they sat surrounded by their numerous wives and progeny, on his drawing near them, hobbled up

with a menacing roar, and fairly commenced the attack, while the wives seemed to rest their security upon the superior courage and address of their lord; for, instead of retreating into the water in the utmost consternation, they only raised themselves upon their fore fins, as if ready for a march, keeping their eye upon him, and watching the movements of his enemy.

The seal is reckoned a stupid animal; but Mr. Bass noticed many signs of uncommon sagacity in them; and was of opinion that, by much patience and perseverance, a seal might be trained to fish for man; in which there is nothing, at first sight, more preposterous than the attempt to make a hawk his fowler.

The seal appeared to branch off into various species.³¹ He did not recollect to have seen them precisely alike upon any two islands in the strait. Most of them were of that kind called by the sealers hair seals; but they differed in the shape of the body, or of the head, the situation of the fore fins, the colour, and very commonly in the voice, as if each island spoke a peculiar language.

Having collected as much stock as was necessary, they stood to the northward, and on the 12th reached Port Jackson.

On delivering the account of this voyage to the governor, he named the principal discovery, which was the event of it, Bass Strait, as a tribute due to the correctness of judgment which led Mr. Bass, in his first visit in the whale boat, to suppose that the south-westerly winds which rolled in upon the shores of Western Port, could proceed only from their being exposed to the Southern Indian Ocean.

The most prominent advantage which seemed likely to accrue to the settlement from this discovery was, the expediting of the passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Jackson³²; for, although a line drawn from the Cape to 44° of south latitude, and to the longitude of the south Cape of Van Diemen's land, would not sensibly differ from one drawn to the latitude of 40°, to the same longitude; yet it must be allowed, that a ship will be four degrees nearer to Port Jackson in the latter situation, than it would be in the former. But there is, perhaps, a greater advantage to be gained by making a passage through the strait, than the mere saving of four degrees of latitude along the coast. The major part of the ships that have arrived at Port Jackson have met with NE winds on opening the sea round the South Cape and Cape Pillar, and have been so much retarded by them, that a fourteen days' passage to the port is reckoned to be a fair one, although the difference of latitude is but ten degrees, and the most prevailing winds at the latter place are from SE to S in summer, and from WSW to S in winter. If by going through Bass Strait these NE winds can be avoided, which in many cases would probably be the case, there is no doubt but a week or more

would be gained by it; and the expense, with the wear and tear of a ship for one week, are objects to most owners, more especially when freighted with convicts by the run.

This strait likewise presents another advantage. From the prevalence of the NE and easterly winds off the South Cape, many suppose that a passage may be made from thence to the westward, either to the Cape of Good Hope, or to India; but the fear of the great unknown bight between the South Cape and the SW Cape of Lewen's land, lying in about 35° south and 113° east, has hitherto prevented the trial being made. Now the strait removes a part of this danger, by presenting a certain place of retreat, should a gale oppose itself to the ship in the first part of the essay; and should the wind come at SW she need not fear making a good stretch to the WNW, which course, if made good, is within a few degrees of going clear of all. There is besides King George the Third's Sound, discovered by Captain Vancouver, situate in the latitude of $35^{\circ} 03'$ south, and longitude $118^{\circ} 12'$ east; and it is to be hoped, that a few years will disclose many others upon the coast, as well as the confirmation or futility of the conjecture*, that a still larger than Bass Strait dismembers New Holland.

The vessel that has the credit of having first circumnavigated Van Diemen's land was built at Norfolk Island, of the fir of that country, which was found to answer extremely well. Being only five-and-twenty tons in burden, her comforts and accommodation must have been very inconsiderable, but great when compared with those which could have been found in a whale boat. Yet in a whale boat did Mr. Bass, as has been already shown, run down the eastern coast of New South Wales from Port Jackson to the entrance of the strait. Captain Flinders has not the gratification of associating this gentleman with him in his present expedition, he having sailed on another voyage and a different pursuit.

* To verify or confute this conjecture, Lieutenant, now Captain Flinders (from whose journal these observations on the advantages of the strait are taken), has lately sailed in his Majesty's ship *Investigator*.³³ He is accompanied by several professional men of great abilities, selected by that liberal and distinguished patron of merit Sir Joseph Banks, from whose exertions, joined with those of the commander, navigation and natural history have much information and gratification to expect. The *Investigator* is to be attended by the *Lady Nelson*, a small vessel of fifty tons burden, built under the inspection and according to the plan of that truly respectable and valuable man, and scientific officer, Commissioner Schank, whose abilities are too well known to require any eulogium from this pen.

CHAPTER XVII

Transactions—Information from Norfolk Island—A burglary committed—The criminal court assembled—A man tried for killing a native—Two men executed—The public gaol burnt—Observations—Stills ordered to be seized—Settlers, their profligacy—A man found dead—Great drought—A flood at the river—Two whalers arrive—Conduct of the labouring convicts—A seaman killed—A woman murdered by her husband—Natives—A Spanish prize arrives—Norfolk Island—Resources in New South Wales—Public works

WE must now return to the other concerns of the settlement, from which we have been so long absent.

Some pleas of debt having been decided by the civil magistrates, to relieve them from that duty, and enable them to attend to that only of the justice of the peace, an order was issued, declaring that such pleas belonged to the court of civil jurisdiction solely, as was clearly expressed in the letters patent for establishing that court; but they were at the same time requested to use their utmost endeavours, as far as their influence as magistrates could be effectual, in recommending the settling of trifling debts by arbitration, and thereby prevent much vexatious litigation.¹

Agricultural concerns wore as unpromising an appearance in this as in the last month. The governor, in a visit which he made to Parramatta, found that the pasture over the whole country had been entirely burnt up; in consequence of which the grazing cattle were in great distress; and, from the lamentable continuance of the drought, the maize was every where likely to fail: a misfortune that would ruin the stock of hogs, and reduce the settlement considerably in the article of bread.

That he might ascertain what quantity of grain he had to depend on, all those who cultivated ground were directed to give in by a certain time a return of the wheat and other grain in their possession.

By the *Diana* whaler, which arrived from Norfolk Island, information was received, that the wheat harvest had been more productive there than usual; but the maize was likely to fall short from a similar want of rain.

Wheat at this time bore a high price in Norfolk Island, the settlers who had raised refusing to sell it, on account of the high rate of wages, at less than fifteen shillings per bushel.

On the night of the 24th, the acting commissary's house was broken into, and robbed of articles to a considerable amount.² The thieves

appeared to have got in at the office window, and loosened the bricks of a partition wall; by which opening they got into the store-room, and, forcing the locks off the chests and trunks, carried away every thing that they could manage.

One evil among others which attended the frequent arrival of ships in the port was, the ready market which these plunderers found for disposing of their stolen goods; the seamen not hesitating to become the purchasers on leaving the place.

The criminal court of judicature was assembled at the close of the month; when one man, a sergeant of the New South Wales corps, was condemned for forgery, but recommended to the governor's mercy by the court; another was condemned for a burglary, and a third sentenced to receive a severe corporal punishment, for having shot a native (man) at Botany Bay.³ Could the evidence of some of these people have been taken, it was supposed that he would have been capitally convicted, in which case he would certainly have suffered, the governor being determined to put that article of his Majesty's instructions in force, which, in placing these people under the protection of the British Government, enjoined the punishing any injury done to their persons or property, according to the degree and nature of the offence.

When this man was brought out to be punished, several of the natives were assembled for the purpose; and he received in their presence as much of his sentence as he could bear, they witnessing his sufferings with the most perfect indifference.

The weather was exceedingly hot during the whole of January.

February.] Deplorable was the catalogue of events that presented itself in this month: executions, robberies, and accidents.

On the 8th a prisoner, who had been condemned to die by the last court, suffered the sentence of the law. The recollection of his untimely end, and his admonitions from the fatal tree, could not have departed from the minds of those who saw and heard him, when another court sent another offender to the same tree and for the same crime. Samuel Wright had been once before respited at the gallows. On the morning of his execution, the wretched man attempted to cut his throat; but as he only very slightly wounded himself, it may be supposed that he merely hoped, by delaying the execution, to gain time to effect an escape.⁴

Before this court, was brought part of a nest of thieves, who had lately stolen property to the amount of several hundred pounds; but none of them were capitally convicted, being sentenced either to be transported to Norfolk Island, or corporally punished.⁵

It might be supposed, that these executions and punishments would have operated as a check to the commission of offences; but they appeared to be wholly disregarded, and enormity had not yet attained its full height.

On the night of the 11th, between the hours of eleven and twelve, the public gaol at Sydney, which cost so much labour and expense to erect, was set on fire, and soon completely consumed. The building was thatched, and there was not any doubt of its having been done through design. But, if this was the fact, it will be read with horror, that at the time there were confined within its walls twenty prisoners, most of whom were loaded with irons, and who with difficulty were snatched from the flames. Feeling for each other was never imputed to these miscreants; and yet if several were engaged in the commission of a crime they have seldom been known to betray their companions in iniquity.

To complete this catalogue of offences, a few days after, some Irish convicts, with their faces blackened, attacked the house of an industrious man (one of the missionaries), whom they severely wounded in several places and plundered of all his property.

Were it not evident that certain punishment awaited the conviction of offenders, it might be supposed that a relaxation of the civil authority had begotten impunity; but far otherwise was the fact: the police was vigilant, the magistrates active, and the governor ever anxious to support them, and with incessant diligence endeavouring to establish good order and morality in the settlement. But, such was the depravity of these people, from the habitual practice of vice, that they were become alike fearless of the punishments of this or of the world to come.

Notwithstanding the settlement had before it the serious prospect of wanting grain, and the consequent destruction of much useful stock, it was known that several people had erected stills, and provided materials for the purpose of distilling spirituous liquors; a pernicious practice which had long been forbidden by every officer who had had the direction of the colony. Former orders on this subject were now repeated, and persons of all descriptions were called upon to use every means in their power, in aid of the civil magistrate, to seize and destroy such stills and materials as they might find.⁶

Presuming on the late inefficient harvest, the settlers requested again to be supplied with seed wheat from the store, but were refused. It was well known, that they sold for spirits, to the last bushel of their crop, and left their families without bread. Then they pleaded poverty and distress, and their utter inability to repay what they had borrowed. When seed has been lent them, they have not infrequently been seen to sell it at the door of the store whence they had received it!

On the last day of the month a man belonging to the military was found dead, sitting upright against the outside of the barrack paling. It was known, that he had been much intoxicated the preceding night; and it was supposed that, being unable to reach his hut, he

had sat himself down, and, falling asleep, passed from this life without a struggle.⁷

The great drought and excessive heat had affected the water. Such ponds as still retained any were reduced so very low, that most of them were become brackish, and scarcely drinkable. From this circumstance, it was conjectured, that the earth contained a large portion of salt, for the ponds even on the high grounds were not fresh. The woods between Sydney and Parramatta were completely on fire, the trees being burnt to the tops, and every blade of grass was destroyed.

To defeat as much as possible the intentions of those who were concerned in setting fire to the gaol, a strong and permanent building of stone, with very substantial walls, was begun in this month, and was well calculated to defy every such attempt in future.

March.] The dry weather which had so long prevailed, to the great detriment of the cultivated and pasture grounds, was succeeded by rain for two or three days, which greatly refreshed the gardens that were nearly wholly burnt up, and every where revived the perishing vegetation. At the Hawkesbury, however, an accident occurred, which, although not so ruinous to the colony at large as the drought, proved most destructive to the settlers in that district.⁸ This river suddenly, and in the course of a very few hours, swelled to the height of fifty feet above its common level, and with such rapidity and power as to carry every thing before it. The government store-house, which had been erected at the first settling of this part of the country, was not out of the reach of this inundation, and was swept away, with all the provisions that it contained. Many of the inhabitants were taken off from the ridges of their houses, by a few boats which they fortunately had among them, just in time to save their lives; for most of the dwellings were inundated, and the whole country appeared like an extensive lake. Many hogs, other live stock, poultry, with much of the produce of the last unfortunate harvest, and the domestic effects of the people, were hurried away by the torrent. Fortunately only one life was lost.

This was a most serious calamity; and, no cause having appeared to indicate an approaching overflow of the river, the settlers were not prepared for such a disaster. It was said, that the natives foresaw it, and advised the inhabitants; but this wanted confirmation. If true, the trait was a favourable one. There could, however, be no doubt, that, unperceived by our people, a heavy fall of rain had taken place in the interior of the country, among the mountains, and which, from the parched state of the land for such a length of time, had in no part been absorbed, but ran down the sides of the hills, as from mountains of solid rock, filling all the low grounds, and branches of the river, which, being in form suddenly serpentine, could not give vent so fast as the waters descended.

It was hoped and believed, that this uncommon inundation would, in the end, prove highly beneficial to the grounds so overflowed, causing them for a season or more to produce with such abundance as to recover the loss which the sufferers had sustained. In a few days this extraordinary collection of water had found its way to the sea, and, the river regaining its usual level, the settlers set about new cropping their grounds; for which purpose they made application for seed wheat, that certainly could not be refused; their other application, for bedding and clothing, it was not so easy to comply with, from the poverty of the public stores in these articles.

This fertile spot had, in some seasons, produced from fifteen to twenty thousand bushels of wheat, and might justly be termed the granary of New South Wales.

To relieve the inhabitants in some degree from the contemplation of these distresses, the *Rebecca*, a whaler, came into the Cove from the Cape of Good Hope, bringing authentic accounts of Lord Nelson's memorable and brilliant victory over the French fleet at the mouth of the Nile. This decisive battle was announced to the settlement in a public order, and by a discharge of all the artillery in the colony.⁹

The master of the *Rebecca*, having brought out a few articles for sale, chartered the *Nautilus* to take them to Norfolk Island, thinking to find a better market for them there than at this place, where the late unsuccessful harvest had neither filled the granary of the public nor the pocket of the settler. She sailed with this cargo in the course of a few days.

On the 9th, the *Britannia* whaler came in from sea, to repair some damages which she had sustained in bad weather. She had been rather successful in her fishery, having procured twenty-five tons of spermaceti oil since her departure; and the master reported, that, had the weather been more moderate, he should have been enabled to have more than half filled his ship.

The criminal court was only once assembled during this month; when one man was condemned to death for a burglary, and another* transported for fourteen years to Norfolk Island.¹⁰

The civil court was also assembled for the decision of private causes, in which it was engaged during a week.

Among other public works in hand were, the raising the walls of the new gaol, laying the upper floor of the wind-mill, and erecting the churches at Sydney and Parramatta. Most of these buildings did not advance so rapidly as the necessity for them required, owing to the weakness of the public gangs; and indeed scarcely had there ever

* This man, Isaac Nichols, an overseer, had been accused of receiving stolen goods; but from some circumstances which occurred on the trial, the sentence was respited until his Majesty's pleasure could be taken.

been a thorough day's labour, such as is performed by a labouring man in England, obtained from them. They never felt themselves interested in the effect of their work, knowing that the ration from the store, whatever it might be, would be issued to them, whether they earned it or not; unlike the labouring man whose subsistence, and that of his family, depends upon his exertions. For the individual who would pay them for their services with spirits, they would labour while they had strength to lift the hoe or the axe; but when government required the production of that strength, it was not forthcoming; and it was more to be wondered, that under such disadvantages so much, rather than that so little, had been done. The convicts whose services belonged to the crown were for the most part a wretched, worthless, dissipated set, who never thought beyond the present moment; and they were for ever employed in rendering that moment as easy to themselves as their invention could enable them.

Of the settlers and their disposition much has been already said. The assistance and encouragement which from time to time were given them, they were not found to deserve. The greater part had originally been convicts; and it is not to be supposed, that while they continued in that state their habits were much improved. With these habits, then, they became freemen and settlers; the effect of which was, to render them insolent and presuming; and most of them continued a dead weight upon the government, without reducing the expenses of the colony.

These expenses were certainly great, and had been considerably increased. The settlement was at this time much in want of many necessary articles of life; and when these were brought by speculators and traders who occasionally touched there, they demanded more than five hundred per cent above what the same articles could have been sent out for from England, with every addition of freight, insurance, etc. They saw the wants of the colony, and availed themselves of its necessities.

April.] On the first of this month the criminal court sat for the trial of a soldier belonging to the regiment, who had a few days before stabbed a seaman of the *Reliance*, who insulted him when sentinel at one of the wharfs at Sydney. The man died of the wound; the soldier, being called upon to answer for his death, proved to the satisfaction of the court, that it had been occasioned by the intemperance of the seaman, and he was accordingly found to have committed a justifiable homicide.¹¹

This accident was the effect of intoxication, to which a few days after another victim was added, in the person of a female, who was either the wife or companion of Simon Taylor, a man who had been considered as one of the few industrious settlers which the colony could boast of.¹² They had both been drinking together to a great

excess; and in that state they quarrelled, when the unhappy man, in a fit of madness and desperation, put an untimely end to her existence. He was immediately taken into custody, and reserved for trial.

To this pernicious practice of drinking to excess, more of the crimes which disgraced the colony were to be ascribed than to any other cause; and more lives were lost through this than through any other circumstance; for the settlement had ever been free from epidemical or fatal diseases. How much then was the importation of spirits to be lamented! How much was it to be regretted, that it had become the interest of any set of people to vend them!

Several robberies which at this time had been committed were to be imputed to the same source.

A new enemy to agriculture made its appearance in this month. A destructive grub-worm was discovered in several parts of the cultivated ground; and at the Hawkesbury a caterpillar had commenced its ravages wherever it found any young grain just shooting out of the earth. This occasioned some delay in sowing the government ground.

It having been for several days reported, that the crews of two boats, which had been permitted to go to Hunter's River for a load of coals, had been cut off by the natives, the governor ordered his whale boat to be well armed, and to proceed thither in quest of the boats and their crews; sending in her Henry Hacking, a person on whom he could depend. Upon his return, he informed the governor, that on his arrival he found an attempt had been made to burn the smaller boat, which had had three men in her, who were each provided with a musket. The boat was there, but the men were not to be found. Going immediately in search of them, he fell in with a large body of natives all armed. On desiring them to inform him what was become of the white men, they told him they were gone to Sydney. This did not satisfy him, as he found they had taken away the sails of the boats, the men's blankets, and every thing that they had with them. He then threatened to kill them if they did not instantly inform him, and presented his musket at them. This they laughed at, and said, that if he did not go away, and leave them a small two-oared boat which he had brought with him, and the whale boat, they would destroy every white man there, and poised their spears in a threatening manner. He again levelled his piece at them, and snapped it without priming, in the hope of alarming them; but they were not so easily frightened, and became most noisy and violent. Finding that an attack was almost certain, he charged his gun with buck shot, and ordered them to leave the place; but, their clamour increasing, he fired, and four of them fell, one of whom got up again and ran off, the other three remaining upon the ground, probably mortally wounded. The whole body disappeared, and no more was seen of them, leaving Hacking to fill his boat and effect his retreat unmolested.

Our people having frequently visited this river for coals, and always treating with kindness and civility the natives whom they met, this behaviour was not to be accounted for, except by its being allowed that all savages are under the dominion of a sudden impulse; which renders it impossible to know when to trust them.

As the men belonging to the boat were not heard of for a considerable time, it was feared they had been murdered by the natives; but they fortunately reached the settlement safe.

On the morning of the 24th, the *Nautilus* returned from Norfolk Island, and with her came in a Spanish ship, a prize to two whalers, which they had captured off Cape Blanco on the coast of Peru. She was bound from Lima to Guayaquil.

A court of vice-admiralty having been assembled, she was condemned as a legal prize, and part of her cargo* was in a few days sold by public auction.

This was a new circumstance in the annals of the settlement, and wore the appearance of rendering it of more consequence than it had hitherto been. Did it not go to prove, that at some future period, in the event of a Dutch or Spanish war, it might become a place of much importance, by offering a reception to the prizes of our cruisers, a court whereat they could be condemned, and a market for their cargoes?

Two days afterwards the *Norfolk* returned from Norfolk Island, where the maize harvest had entirely failed, owing to the long drought which had prevailed there.

Every year's experience proved, that this island never would be of the utility which might be expected from the very great expense that was incurred on its account. It was probable, that this expense had not been adverted to in England; for all the bills drawn there were sent to New South Wales to be consolidated into bills upon the treasury; by which means the expenses of the principal settlement appeared to be far more considerable than in fact they were.¹³ The boast of its containing timber and flax fit for naval purposes, sufficient to construct and equip a navy, falls to the ground, when it is considered that the whole island does not contain a single harbour, cove, or inlet, fit to shelter a boat, much less a ship; but that it is surrounded by a dangerous coral reef, which has proved the loss of one King's ship, and many lives. Besides, the soil of New South Wales produces timber and flax perfectly calculated for all naval purposes, and in sufficient abundance. The single advantage that this island presents is, as has been mentioned before, its proving a place of punishment to such notorious offenders in the seat of government as there escape

* This consisted of sugar, flour, and an ardent spirit similar to the *aqua ardente* of the Brazils. The governor would not allow this article to be sold by auction.

the gallows; and for this purpose a small civil and military establishment might be maintained at a much less expense than the present.

If an idea may be hazarded, Van Diemen's Island holds out in every respect a more advantageous spot for a settlement, than this parched, unattainable island; and were it not for the expense already incurred there, it would be advisable to remove the whole of that settlement thither; where, from the account given by Captain Flinders, and Mr. Bass, they would be as likely to remain unmolested by natives as they are at Norfolk Island, and would possess the superior benefits of a temperate climate and capacious harbour.¹⁴

In addition to the advantages likely to be obtained in New South Wales by the culture of the flax plant, the breed of sheep had been considerably improved by crossing the smaller Bengal with the larger Cape sheep. The fleece produced from this mixture was excellent; and a specimen of woollen cloth fabricated of it was sent to England. One end of a web of linen, wove from the wild flax of the country, was crossed with a thread spun from the bark of a tree; and a web from that bark was crossed, in the specimen sent home, by a thread of wool. All these were made under many difficulties; but they answered the purpose of showing what might be done, with proper tools, at a future period. There was not any doubt, but that the flax plant would considerably improve by cultivation; and the manufacture of woollens promised to be of great benefit to the settlement, whenever a sufficiency of the raw materials was collected. Necessity has been long known as the parent of resources, and the poverty of the public stores in the article of clothing had prompted these experiments of the wool, the flax, and the bark.¹⁵

The discovery of the vast strata of coal must be reckoned among the new lights thrown upon the resources of the colony. The facility that this presents in working the iron ore* with which the settlement abounded, must prove of infinite utility whenever a dock-yard shall be established here; and the time may come, when the productions of the country may not be confined within its own sphere.

In addition to other public works already in hand, the governor directed a piece of ground, consisting of about seventy acres, and three miles distant from Sydney, to be inclosed for the use of the stock in that district.

The foundation of the walls of a government house at Parramatta was laid, and the sowing the public wheat grounds begun; but, through want of labouring people, less was sown this than in the last year.

The weather had been in general moderate and seasonable.

* Some of this iron ore, which has been smelted in England, has been reported to be equal, if not superior, to Swedish iron.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Buffalo arrives from England, and brings cattle from the Cape—A marine settler killed—Natives—A criminal court held—Taylor executed—Lowe punished—A highway robbery—Provisions in store—Ration altered—June, two whalers come in from sea—Ideas of a whale fishery—Tempestuous weather—Effects—The Albion whaler arrives from England—Her passage—July, a missionary murdered—The murderers tried and executed—Orders published—State of the farms—The Hillsborough arrives from England—Mortality on board—Public works

May.]

ON the third day of this month his Majesty's ship *Buffalo* arrived from England, but last from the Cape of Good Hope, whence she brought sixty-six head of cattle, which, considering the length of the voyage, were landed in good condition. She had also on board some tools and articles of hardware for the use of the colony; but, unfortunately, no bedding or clothing of any kind.

This ship arrived under the command of Mr. William Raven, whose services to the colony in the private ship *Britannia* cannot easily be forgotten; and was sent out to replace the *Supply*, which had been condemned as unserviceable, and whose commander, Lieutenant William Kent, was with her officers and crew to be removed into the *Buffalo*; the governor being directed to furnish Mr. Raven with a passage to England.

Although this ship was named the *Buffalo*, yet her head was the carved figure of a kangaroo, which very much amused the natives, who could have had no idea of seeing the animals of their country represented in wood.

Some of these people, ever hostile to the settlers, had lately speared one of them, a marine settler (as those were styled who had formerly belonged to the marine detachment) at George's river, so effectually, that he died of his wounds. The natives belonged to the tribe of which Pe-mul-wy was the leader.

Savage as these beings certainly were toward our people, and to each other, yet they could unbend, and divert themselves with the softer amusements of singing and dancing. The annexed engraving represents a party thus occupied, and gives a correct view of their persons and manners. The figure leaning upon his shield, the attitude of the women dancing, and the whole group, are accurate delineations of a party assembled by the light of a fire at the mouth of one of their excavated rocks.



W. D. Underhill del.

T. J. Powell sculp.

A Night Scene in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.
see page 208.

It might be supposed, that with this exercise, and the company of their females, their angry and turbulent passions would be at rest, and that the idea of murder could not enter their minds; yet have they been known to start away, in search of some unsuspecting object of their revenge or hatred, who before the morning has received a dozen spears through his body: and this is man in his uncultivated state!

Several offenders having been secured for trial, it became necessary to assemble the court of criminal judicature; and on the 16th Simon Taylor was brought before it, accused of the murder of his wife; of which offence being clearly convicted, he received sentence of death, and was executed on the 20th at Parramatta.¹ This unhappy man was thoroughly sensible of the enormity of his guilt, and in his last moments admonished the spectators against indulging in drunkenness, which had brought him to that untimely and disgraceful end.

At the same court, one man, Robert Lowe, was adjudged corporal punishment, and one year's hard labour, for embezzling some of the live stock of Government, which had been entrusted to his care. He was a free man, and had been one of the convicts who were with Captain Riou in the *Guardian*, when her voyage to New South Wales was unfortunately frustrated by her striking upon an island of ice; on account of which, and of their good conduct before and after the accident, directions had been given for their receiving conditional emancipation, and being allowed to provide for their own maintenance. Few of these people, however, were in the end found to merit this reward and indulgence, as their future conduct had proved; and this last act of delinquency pointed out the necessity of a free person being sent out from England to superintend the public live stock, with such an allowance as would make him at once careful of his conduct, and faithful in the execution of his trust.²

It should seem that the commission of crimes was never to cease in this settlement. Scarcely had the last court of judicature sent one man to the gallows, when a highway robbery was committed between the town of Sydney and Parramatta. Three men rushed from an adjoining wood, and, knocking down a young man who was travelling to the last mentioned town, rifled his pockets of a few dollars. On his recovering, finding that only one man remained, who was endeavouring to twist his handkerchief from his neck, he swore that no one person should plunder him, and had a struggle with this fellow, who, not being the strongest of the two, was secured and taken into Parramatta. A court was immediately assembled for his trial; but the evidence was not thought sufficient to convict him, and he was consequently acquitted. The want of any corroborating circumstance on the part of the prosecutor compelled the court to this acquittal.³

A quantity of fresh pork having been for some time received into

the store, there were found at this period six months salt provisions remaining; which, without this supply would have been all consumed, and the colony left without animal food, save in the article of live stock, a resource on which it could not have been prudent to have touched as a supply, except in a case of the last necessity.

Every encouragement was given to the curing of pork upon Norfolk Island; but the casks in which the salt meat was sent from England were in general so extremely feeble by the time they arrived, that scarcely one in a hundred was fit for that purpose a second time. Could any timber, fit for this use, have been found in the country, yet a supply of hoops and salt pans would have been necessary; and, unless it was cured in the winter season, and the method observed by Captain Cook was practised at Norfolk Island, it remained a doubt whether it could be accomplished to any considerable extent.⁴

The price of fresh pork having been raised in consequence of the failure of the late harvest, as a temporary relief to those who had suffered by that misfortune, the commissary was, at the close of this month, directed to return to the price formerly established, viz nine-pence per pound.

The state of the public stores with respect to salt provision having been carefully examined, it became necessary to make a small reduction of the ration in time, in order to prevent a greater. It was accordingly ordered, that the following proportions should be issued, viz

| | | |
|-------|-----------|---------------------|
| Beef | 5 pounds | } per man per week; |
| or | | |
| Pork | 3 pounds | |
| Wheat | 12 pounds | |
| Sugar | 6 ounces | |

and this they were informed was not to continue longer than the arrival of a storeship with a supply of salted provision.⁵

The commissary was also directed to issue to such men as might be entitled, as much blue gurrah⁶ (an East India article not much better than bunting) and thread as would make a frock and a pair of trousers, and a proportion to the women and children. These gurras had been brought from India in some of the speculative voyages to this country, and were now found useful in covering the nakedness of the people.

By the arrival of the *Buffalo*, the governor at length had it in his power to inform those people who had been convicted in Ireland, and by the laws of that kingdom had been transported to New South Wales, that he had received from thence a correct statement of the several sentences of those who had been brought in the *Queen*; and an assurance, through the secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, that the

lists of those who had been sent out since that period should be forwarded by the next vessel which might sail from Ireland for this colony.

Those, therefore, who were remaining alive of the convicts received by the *Queen*, might learn the extent of their conviction, by applying at the commissary's office. Such as might appear to have been sent out for life were told they need not despair of being, in due time, again the masters of their own labours; as every one must have seen, that a decent, orderly, industrious and obedient conduct, had frequently recommended many of their description to public favour.⁷

June.] On the 2nd of this month, the *Diana* and *Eliza* whalers came in to refit, and to refresh their crews. They had each procured about twenty-five tons of spermaceti oil since they left the port, and had spoke the *Britannia*, which had been more successful, she having, in all, one hundred and ten tons of oil on board.

About this time the *Indispensable* sailed on her fishing voyage. This ship had been careened and completely repaired in the Cove.

From the experience of the masters of these whalers, there was every reason to believe, that ships resorting hither, properly fitted for the variable weather which they are liable to meet with upon the coast, would most certainly succeed. The ships that had arrived, in general, were not prepared for the weather of this ocean, but were fitted for the more certain and serene skies of the coast of Peru; which occasioned their so frequently running into port to refit. In this, such assistance as the colony could supply was always readily afforded them; and it might be worthy the attention of the houses of Messrs. Champion, Enderby, and others, owners of ships in the whale fishery, to establish a depot or warehouse at Sydney, well supplied with naval stores, where their business could be transacted by their own people, and their ships refitted with their own materials.

If try-pots were fixed at some convenient place near the entrance of the harbour, and many such offer, where their warehouse might also be established, the fishing ground not being far from the coast, might not a ship run in with the whale in blubber, leave it to be tried out, and in the mean while put to sea in quest of more? If any time would be saved by this mode of proceeding, it surely would be worth adopting; but of this these gentlemen must be the better judges.

In the evening on the fourth of June, which had been observed as His Majesty's birthday with every demonstration of loyalty and respect, the weather became very tempestuous, and continued for three days blowing a heavy gale from the southward, attended with a deluge of rain; by which several buildings belonging to Government, which had been erected with great labour, were much damaged; among others, was unfortunately the tower of the new mill at Sydney, of which the roof was fitting. The south-side of this building was so much

injured, that it became necessary to take the whole down; which was done, and the foundation laid a second time.

This gale having subsided, it returned about the middle of the month, blowing again from the southward with increased violence, and attended with another deluge of rain. In its effects it was more destructive than the preceding, doing much damage to various public and private buildings. The south side of the church tower was entirely destroyed, but the clock was saved. The Government house at Parramatta, which was nearly finished, received some material injury, but was not wholly destroyed. A man, in crossing a gully between Sydney and Parramatta, was, in attempting to ford it, carried away by the violence of the torrent, and drowned. The cattle suffered much, and a few of the public as well as private stock perished.

The ravages of this storm were so great, that the settlement was thrown back nearly twelve months in those works which at the time were expected very shortly to be completed. The weather, from the beginning of this month, had never since the establishment of the colony been observed to be so severe. The settlement had indeed, between the fires of the summer, and the floods and gales of the winter, suffered very considerably. Added to these, at this time, were the inconveniences arising from an unproductive harvest, from an exhausted store in the very essential articles of clothing and bedding, from the hostile disposition of many of the natives, and from the annihilation of morality, honesty, and industry in the major part of the colonists.

As this picture is not exaggerated, the situation and feelings of the rational part of the settlement were certainly not to be envied.

Every exertion was immediately made to remedy the misfortunes occasioned by the late tempestuous weather, and it was hoped that most of them would be surmounted by the end of the present year. The erecting of the stone prison at Sydney being found to create much expense, as well as require much time, the governor called a meeting of the officers, principal inhabitants, and landholders, and proposed an assessment to be furnished by each, as well of money, as of labour; which was readily agreed to on their part; and that necessary building was thenceforth carried on at their expense, the public stores only furnishing such iron as might be requisite.

On the evening of the 29th, the ship *Albion* arrived from England, having made the quickest passage of any that had yet come to this country, being only three months and fifteen days on her voyage. She brought out 900 tierces of salt pork, some dispatches, and a few letters, by which the governor was taught to expect the arrival of two transports with convicts, and of a king's ship, the *Porpoise*, which was to replace the *Reliance*.

The extraordinary passage made by this ship drew the attention

of those who were judges, to her construction. This was her first voyage, having been launched on the 25th of October 1798, from the yard of Messrs. Barnard and Roberts at Deptford, where she was built. The length of her keel for tonnage, was 86 feet; her extreme breadth, 27 feet 6 inches; her depth in hold, 12 feet; her height between decks, 6 feet, and her admeasured burden, 362 tons. She was remarkably clean in her run; and, although extremely deep in the water when she sailed from Spithead, gave early proof of her capacity in sailing.

Mr. Ebor Bunker, who had been at Port Jackson before in the *William and Ann* transport, commanded the *Albion*, and was now selected by her owners, Messrs. Champions, to give the whale fishing upon the coast a complete and fair trial. For this purpose the ship was fitted out with the accustomed liberality of those gentlemen in the amplest manner, with every store that could be necessary for her own use, and every comfort for her people.

Fortunate it would have proved for the settlement in general, had these and such respectable gentlemen been among the first of those whose speculative views had induced them to embark their property in these undertakings: it would then have escaped the extortions which had been but too successfully practised by many others.

The labouring people were principally employed during this month, in repairing the devastations occasioned by the late tempestuous weather.

July.] Another instance occurred of the little effect which even capital punishments had in this profligate settlement. On the evening of the 2nd of this month, a most horrid murder was committed upon Mr. Samuel Clode, one of the missionaries, who had flown for refuge from the savages of Otaheite to this government. This act of more than savage barbarity was committed at the brickfields, in the house of one Jones, a soldier. His brains were beaten out at the back of his head, with an axe, and his throat so cut as nearly to sever the head from the body, which was then dragged to a sawpit, at that time full of water, and, being thrown in, was covered over with bushes. Here it remained only until the following morning, when it was discovered by a labouring man, who went to get his hoe; which, to prevent its being stolen, he had been in the habit of concealing in the sawpit. Such are the directions of Providence!

Suspicion falling upon four persons, they were taken up; and, the criminal court being immediately convened, three of the number, Thomas Jones (a soldier), a woman (his wife), and John Albury (a free man), were, on the clearest evidence, convicted of the murder, and adjudged to suffer death.

It appeared upon the trial, that the trifling sum of ten pounds, which Jones had been indebted to Mr. Clode, prompted him to his destruction. To effect this, he signified to that truly unfortunate gentleman, that if he would call at his hut in the evening he would pay

him. Not suspecting any evil design in this request, he called at the appointed time, and, while leaning over a table to draw up a receipt, received the first blow with the axe, from the hand of Jones (Albury's resolution, for it was agreed that he should give it, failing at the moment), who, from the pecuniary transaction between them, must have been under an obligation, which he took this dreadful method of discharging.

Being convicted on the 4th, they were executed on the 6th, upon the spot where the murder had been committed. The house was pulled down and burnt, and the bodies of the two men were hung in chains near the place. That of the woman was delivered to the surgeons for dissection.⁸

The abandoned state in which the settlement was at this time cannot be better understood than by a perusal of the following orders, which were issued.⁹

From the late increased number of nocturnal robberies, there is much reason to suspect that the petty constables and divisional watchmen are either extremely negligent in the performance of their duty, or that they suffer themselves to be prevailed on by the house-breakers to be less vigilant than that duty requires, and to connive at their depredations on the inhabitants. A continuance of this unpardonable remissness upon their part must dispose the more respectable inhabitants to believe them partakers with the thieves. It is, therefore, hereby particularly recommended by the governor to every officer in the colony, as they value the security of their property, to give their utmost assistance to those immediately concerned in the executive part of the civil police, in putting, as speedily as possible, a stop to so very great an evil. It is also particularly recommended to the principal inhabitants of the towns of Sydney and Parramatta, that they select a few of the most respectable of their number, in each division of these towns, whom they may authorise to consider of the most effectual means of detecting the robbers, and bringing them to trial; whether by such rewards as they may be enabled to offer, or by small divisional patrols for the night service, and who shall take that duty by turns, and be under the immediate direction of a reputable inhabitant, of their own choice, or an officiating constable selected from among the most sober and vigilant of that description of persons.

Proposals for this purpose were to be sent in writing to the judge-advocate's office, and a bench of magistrates were to approve or alter them, as they should think proper.

This order was published on the 2nd, and on the 3rd the following appeared:¹⁰

The continual complaints which are made of the conduct of the female convicts require the most rigid and determined discipline with such characters, who, to the disgrace of their sex, are far worse than the men, and are generally found at the bottom of every infamous transaction that is committed in the colony. It is hereby most strenuously recommended to the magistrates in general, that on proof being brought before them of any improper conduct in those dangerous and mischievous characters, or of any disobedience of orders, or neglect of such duty as they may be directed to perform, they may be ordered such exemplary punishment, either corporal or otherwise, as the nature of their crime may call for. This measure will appear the more necessary, when it is recollected, that formerly, when such punishments were had recourse to, these women gave much less trouble, and were far more orderly in their conduct.

The superintendants were directed not to allow them to leave their work at their own pleasure, but to attend them, and see that they were employed during those hours which were allotted for their labour.

The former of these orders seemed to have been attended with some effect; for in a few days several idle people, who, being out of their time, were employed only in wandering from one district to another, without any visible means of getting their bread, were apprehended, and, being examined before the sitting magistrate, were ordered to labour in the gaol gang.

Still alarming depredations were nightly committed upon the live stock of individuals, and were doubtless effected by those wandering pests to society; the regulations which had long since been established as a check to such an evil being wholly disregarded. It was discovered, that hogs were stolen, and delivered on the victualling days at the public store, without any enquiry being made, as to whose property they were, or by whom delivered, any person's name which they chose to give in being considered by the storekeeper as sufficient to authorise him to receive it, although printed vouchers for the delivery of such pork (and grain likewise) were left at the store, for the purpose of being signed by the party offering it. This certainly operated as an encouragement to the commission of these thefts; and it became necessary to order, that such persons as attended the receipt of any of these articles at the store should direct whoever delivered them to sign the voucher of the quantity received by him, the governor being determined never to approve of any bill laid before him for that purpose, unless the commissary should produce the voucher, properly signed, by the person in whose name such bill was made out.

About the middle of this month a general muster was made of all the inhabitants in the different districts of the settlement; and the governor, attending in person, collected from the settlers an accurate

state of their farms and grounds in cultivation. This he did with a view of transmitting, in his next dispatches to Government, such an account of these people as, from being taken under his immediate inspection, might be depended upon. From the 14th to the 24th were taken up in this enquiry, from the result of which it appeared that there were in the district of the River Hawkesbury: 2544 and a half acres in wheat, 907 acres for maize; in the district of Parramatta: 1259 and a half acres in wheat, 663 and a half acres for maize; in the Sydney districts: 538 and a half acres in wheat, 365 and a half acres for maize; making a total of 4392 acres and a half in wheat, and 1436 acres for maize, in the three principal districts of the settlements.¹¹

At the Hawkesbury, the greatest quantity of ground in cultivation by any individual, who had from a convict become a settler, was fifty-one acres, forty-six of which were in wheat. Two others had fifty each, forty of which were in wheat. A man of the name of Flood (who had been left by Mr. Hogan, when here in the ship *Marquis Cornwallis* in 1796, in the care of some ground which that gentleman had purchased) had at this time two hundred¹², and an agent of Mr. Palmer the commissary, had within seven of three hundred, acres in wheat.¹³ There were but few sheep in the possession of the settlers of this district, and about two hundred and forty goats. Hogs were more numerous, there being, after all the slaughter which had lately taken place among these animals, nearly two thousand remaining. The fertility of this spot had invited about one hundred and eighty persons to become holders of land thereon; and when they shall have erected their dwelling-houses and barns on ground inaccessible to the overflowings of the river (which, from its vicinity to the immense body of mountains to the westward, and its own irregularly winding form, must often occur), they will not find their time or exertions to have been misapplied.

The settlers in and about Parramatta had not so much ground in cultivation, and were fewer in number than those of the Hawkesbury district. A widow woman of the name of Daveny, whose husband had been a superintendant of convicts, had fifty acres in wheat, and twenty-three in maize. Among the individuals who had attended to the rearing of stock must be mentioned with the credit which he merits, Edward Elliot, who, having firmly withstood every temptation that was placed in his way to induce him to sell them, had at this time a stock consisting of 116* sheep, derived from one ewe, which had been allowed him by Governor Phillip in December 1792. It, perhaps, may be read with some satisfaction, that George Barrington appeared to

* Vide Vol I p 401.

have twenty acres of ground in wheat, and to be the possessor of thirteen sheep, fifty-five goats, and two mares. His conduct continued such as it had been from the first; but his health was visibly declining, his unremitting attention to the duties of his office proving too much for an asthmatic habit, which he brought with him from England.

There were nine hundred and three goats, three hundred and thirty-two sheep, and about four hundred hogs, in this district, the settlers of which were one hundred and four in number.

It has been shown, that the cultivated ground in the district of the principal settlement was far less than in either that of the river, or Parramatta. At each of these, the soil was greatly superior, and had therefore been more desired by settlers; it must moreover be observed, that most of the farms in the neighbourhood of Sydney were taken before much knowledge had been obtained of the superior richness of the soil in the interior, over that near the coast. The greatest quantity of ground in cultivation by any individual was thirty-three acres. Their stock of sheep amounted only to thirty-eight, of goats to two hundred and ninety-two; and there were remaining among them about three hundred and sixty hogs. The number of settlers was seventy-one. In this statement, the farms and stock of the officers of the civil and military department, and of some of the free settlers, were not included.¹⁴

This certainly was not an unpromising view of the agricultural part of the settlement. Much might be expected from the exertions of three hundred and fifty-five people, and the greatest advantage would have been derived from their labours had they been less prone to dissipation and useless traffic—a traffic which most of them entered into solely with a view to indulging themselves in their favourite propensity of drinking.

Independent of the wild herd of cattle to the westward, the live stock belonging to the Crown, and to individuals, was annually increasing to a great amount; but it was not yet sufficiently numerous to admit of supplying the colony with animal food. To begin too early to apply it to that use, would only have retarded the time when the colony would be independent of any other country for provisions; and none but superfluous males were ever killed.¹⁵

On the 26th of this month the *Hillsborough* transport arrived from England, whence she had sailed with three hundred male convicts on board; but, from the raging of a gaol fever, that made its appearance soon after her departure, ninety-five had died during the voyage, and six more were added to the number in a few days after they were landed.

It was impossible that any ship could have been better fitted by Government for the accommodation of prisoners during such a voyage than was the *Hillsborough*; but, unfortunately, they brought with them,

perhaps lurking in their clothing, a disease which bade defiance to all the measures that could be taken for their comfort and convenience.¹⁶

The hospitals were immediately filled with the survivors, from whom no labour could, for a length of time, be expected; and they were supplied with fresh meat.

None of the military having been embarked in this ship, the owners had put on board a certain number of people, to act as a guard; and on the commissary's mustering them and the ship's company, pursuant to a request to that purpose from the commissioners of the Transport Board, it appeared, that the terms of the charter-party had been strictly complied with.

The erecting of the public gaol advancing but slowly, the constables of the different divisions of the town of Sydney were directed to give information to the inhabitants of their respective divisions, that, as this building was a work in which they were all interested, they were to furnish from each of the four divisions, viz from King's, Nepean's, Banks's, Maskelyne's (such being their names), and from that of the Brickfields, five men each day, with a watchman to attend them. These were to be relieved by a like number of men every day, and this assistance was to be continued so long as the gentlemen who had the direction of the work should have occasion for them.

Had the convicts who arrived in the *Hillsborough* been in a condition to labour, this requisition would have been unnecessary.

The *Albion* was cleared during this month of the provisions which she brought out for the colony, and prepared to proceed upon her fishing voyage.

The *Buffalo* was also getting ready to go to the Cape of Good Hope for cattle.

CHAPTER XIX

The Governor visits the settlers upon George's River—The Norfolk sloop returns from an excursion to the northward—Account of her proceedings—Enters Shoal-Bay—Particulars respecting it—Description of a Palm Nut Tree—Enters Glass-House Bay—Lieut. Flinders meets some natives—Has an interview with them—Particulars—Point Skirmish—Proceeds to a river in Glass-House Bay

August.]

IN the beginning of this month the governor spent some days in an excursion from Prospect-Hill to the settlement which he had established on the banks of George's river.¹ Having before examined the country between Parramatta and that river, he now traced it in another direction, and had the gratification of finding it equally favourable to cultivation with what he had before observed. The distance from the hill was about five miles, over excellent ground, well adapted both for cultivation and pasturage, and equal to any on the banks of the Nile of New South Wales. The settlers whom he had placed there were all doing well, had not any complaints to make, and had not been molested lately by the natives. On quitting them he proceeded down the river to Botany Bay, and thence walked overland to Sydney, between which places there was nothing but barren and uneven ground, but every where covered with the most beautiful flowering heath.

Shortly after his return, the *Norfolk* sloop came in from the northward, having been absent about six weeks upon a particular service, the following account of which is taken from the journal of Lieutenant Flinders, which he delivered to the governor after his arrival.²

The governor being very desirous of gaining some information respecting the coast to the Northward of Port Jackson, particularly of two large openings marked by Captain Cook, the Northernmost of which he named Hervey Bay³, and appeared to lie about the latitude of 24° 36' south, he directed Lieutenant Flinders, who had been employed before with Mr. Bass in the circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Island, to proceed in the *Norfolk* sloop to the northward, and examine them with as much accuracy as the limited time of six weeks would admit. He was also directed, if on his return he should find that he had some time to spare, to enter Hunter's river, there to make what observations he could relative to its extent, the quantity of coal to be found there, and the nature of the country.⁴

The vessel was manned with volunteers from the two king's ships, and Lieutenant Flinders was accompanied by Bong-ree⁵, a native of

the northside of Broken Bay, who had been noted for his good disposition, and open and manly conduct. To guard against accidents, they were supplied with provisions for eleven weeks, and on this service they sailed on the 8th of the last month, July, and proceeded to the Northward.

At half past seven in the morning of Sunday the 9th they sounded, but without finding ground with fifteen fathoms of line, at the distance of half a mile from a small reef of black rocks, which ran off from a sugar-loaf point. There were two very low, and therefore dangerous rocks, lying at S 20° E three or four miles, and SE about two miles from this point. Captain Cook passed this part of the coast in the night, and therefore did not see the rocks; but they required to be particularly looked out for by any vessel coming near the land.* The latitude of the point is about 32° 27' S, Cape Hawke lying N 1° or 2° E from it; and the intermediate coast was mostly beach, but divided at intervals by short stony heads.

Sounding with ten fathoms of line at half a mile distance from the shore of Cape Hawke, they got ground.⁶ The two hills here mentioned by Captain Cook were found to stand upon the pitch of the Cape, and were covered with brush down to the low cliffs. The strata in these cliffs lay forty or fifty degrees from the horizontal line. From the Cape the coast falls back, forming a kind of double bay. The land was low, and rose, but very gradually, ridge over ridge inland to a moderate height, the country looking pleasant enough from the sea; but the trees appeared small, and mixed with brushwood.

At daylight in the morning of the 10th they perceived the vessel to have been carried by an extraordinary current considerably to the southward of their expected situation, and at noon their latitude gave them a difference of thirty-three miles, which current they attributed to their being five or six leagues off the shore; for in the preceding twenty-four hours, when she was close in with the shore, the difference between the observation and the log was eight miles in her favour.

They found this morning that the sloop had unfortunately sprung a very bad leak, which admitted so much water as kept one pump constantly at work. By its coming on suddenly, it was judged not to have been occasioned by any straining of the vessel. It was, however, a serious cause of alarm; and the maize with which the sloop had been before loaded was continually choking up the pumps.

The Solitary Isles were seen on the 11th.⁷ It had been Mr. Flinders's intention to have landed upon some of these islets, had any inducement

* This and other nautical observations made by Lieutenant Flinders are inserted, as it is presumed they (never having been published) may be of use to such ships as may hereafter be employed in the whale fishery upon the coast.

presented itself; but on them he saw not either seal or bird. They seemed to be covered with short brush; and two of them having been lately burnt proved that they were visited by natives. In the colour of the rock, and in their general appearance, they much resembled the small islands lying off Tasman's head⁸, and might with equal propriety be termed the Miserable as the Solitary Isles. Some breakers lying between them, Mr. Flinders thinks it would be dangerous for a ship to pass within any of them until they should be better known. At noon the observed latitude was 29° 57' 25" south. The country still retained the same woody, hilly, and irregular, though not unpleasing, appearance; but in running along the shore it manifestly grew worse, having more tendency to sand. The small projections of land which appeared as they sailed along often presented the delusive appearance of openings behind them; and they were the more inclined to entertain these hopes, as Captain Cook passed along this part of the coast in the night.

At half past two a small island opened off from a low rocky point, behind which there was a small river⁹ running into the SW; but breakers seemed to extend mostly across the entrance. If there was any passage, it would be found on the south side of the island.

At half past three, a peaked hill, standing four or five miles inland, and more conspicuous than usual, bore true East. Before five, the vessel stood in for what appeared to be an opening, and about dusk was in the entrance to a wide shoal bay; soon after which she anchored in two and a half fathoms, on a hard sandy bottom.¹⁰

The objects in view that induced Mr. Flinders to enter this bay were, that he might have daylight to run along the remaining part of the coast, which had been passed by Captain Cook in the night, and to ascertain a place of safety to run for, should the wind come dead on the coast on his return. The leak in the sloop was also a material part of the inducement; for should the place turn out to be of consequence enough to be worth expending a few days in its examination, and a convenient place offer itself for laying her on shore, he intended in the interval to get it stopped.

On examining this bay in his boat, he found it to be very shallow; the north point of the entrance into it was only a projecting spot of sandy ground. Having returned to the sloop about noon, he landed on the south head for the purpose of observing for the latitude. The sun being more than half an hour distant from the meridian gave him time to examine three huts which stood at a little distance. They were of a circular form, and about eight feet in diameter. The frame was composed of the stronger tendrils of the vine, crossing each other in all directions, and bound together by strong wiry grass at the principal intersections. The covering was of bark of a soft texture, resembling the bark of what is called the Tea-tree at Port Jackson, and so compactly

laid on as to keep out the wind and rain. The entrance was by a small avenue projecting from the periphery of the circle, not leading directly into the hut, but turning sufficiently to prevent the rain from beating in.* The height of the under part of the roof is about four and a half, or five feet, and those that were entered had collected a coat of soot, from the fires which had been made in the middle of the huts. They much resembled an oven. One of them was a double hut, comprising two recesses under one entrance, intended most probably for kindred families, being large enough to contain twelve or fifteen people. Bong-ree readily admitted that they were much superior to any huts of the natives which he had before seen. He brought away a small hand basket, made of some kind of leaf, capable of containing five or six pints of water, and very nearly resembling those used at Coupang in the island of Timor for carrying toddy, which Mr. Flinders had noticed there.

The meridional altitude of the sun gave $29^{\circ} 26' 28''$ S for the latitude of the entrance into the bay.

Many white cockatoos and perroquets were seen about here¹¹, and a crow whose note was remarkably short and hasty. Numbers of pelicans, with some gulls and red bills, frequented the shoals, and the country itself was very sandy wherever they landed. The palm nut-tree which grows here was the third kind of palm mentioned by Captain Cook as being produced on the eastern coast of New South Wales.^{†12} This, he says, was found only in the northern parts; and as Bong-ree, who was tolerably well acquainted with the country as far as Port Stephens, never saw or heard of it before, this was probably one of the most southern situations in which it would be found.

The individual nuts were seen scattered about the fire-places of the natives; and it was observed, that the lower end of them had been chewed and sucked in the manner that artichokes are eaten. This method, on procuring some that were ripe, was afterwards practised.

The taste was rather pleasant at first, but left an astringency behind that scarcely tempted one to try a second time. The eatable part of the nut in this way was so small, as to be not worth the trouble of sucking it out from the fibres. They were about the size of a walnut; within the outer skin was a hard shell like that of the cocoa nut; and within this, two, or perhaps more, almond-like kernels. The nut, as taken from the tree, was an assemblage of these kernels set into a cone, and was from the size of a man's two fists, to that of his head. Its size, and the furrows or indentations upon the surface,

* How much superior in contrivance to those about Port Jackson, or in Van Diemen's Island!

† Vide Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, Vol III p 624.

appeared on the first view like the exterior form of the bread fruit, but a pine apple may be a better object of comparison. The stem of the tree was short, and none were observed to be two feet or even eighteen inches in diameter. The branches did not ramify into twigs, but preserved their size to the extreme, where the leaves were produced surrounding the fruit. One or two smaller branches here and there struck off from the main branch, and produced their leaves in the same way, without fruit. The height of the tree all together might be from fifteen to twenty-five or thirty feet. Suckers or branches of all sizes were seen shooting out below those bearing fruit, and, growing downwards along the stem, entered the ground, where they not only formed roots, but became supporters to the tree.

Mr. Flinders thought this fruit might be the mellori of the Nicobar Islands.¹³ The description given of the mellori* in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches corresponded with it in every particular, as far as his examination went; but not having at that time any idea of the value of the tree, and the subject being foreign to his pursuit, he did not give it much attention.

This bay not appearing to deserve more than a superficial examination, Mr. Flinders did not think it worth consuming much of his time, and therefore got under way at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th.

He could not give any particular mark that would point out the situation of Shoal Bay, except its latitude, and the somewhat remarkably peaked hill lying about four leagues to the southward of it. Were any vessel ever likely to visit it, it would be necessary to observe, that either of two heads, which bore from the vessel SW by W and W by N behind which there was some appearance of an inlet, might be mistaken for the south head of the bay.

On Saturday the 13th, about ten in the morning, they were three miles distant from Cape Byron¹⁴, and at the same time the peak of Mount Warning¹⁵ was just appearing over it. Having hauled more off the shore soon after noon, to avoid the reef lying off Point Danger, on the following morning they found themselves at a considerable distance from the land. They now steered west for a large space, where no land was visible, and, perceiving breakers off the south point of the opening, were satisfied that this was Moreton Bay.¹⁶ Passing between these breakers and Point Lookout, they got ground in twenty fathoms water. As they drew nearer, there appeared to be a very large extent of water within the opening; but Mr. Flinders suspected that there was not any passage for a vessel in the direction he was then steering, along the shore for the northern extreme of the land.

* The manner of cooking this fruit, mellori, is given in the description, and may be found in the Annual Register for 1794.

The country to the sea-ward was wretchedly sandy. At dusk Cape Moreton bore west, distant two or three miles; and the highest Glass-House¹⁷, whose peak was just presenting itself over the distant land, had opened round it at W 3° or 4° N. Two hummocks resembling haycocks, distinct from any other land, opened soon after a few degrees to the southward.

The vessel was now hauled in round Cape Moreton, to go into Glass-House Bay. They steered west till eight o'clock, when, having little wind, and that little being from the southward, they dropped anchor for the night. Weighing again the next morning, the 14th, they worked near the eastern shore until noon, at which time their latitude was 27° 00' 29" south; and Cape Moreton bearing E 10° N two or three miles would be in the same latitude, allowing the variation to be 10° east. This differs four miles and a half from its situation in Captain Cook's Narrative.

While ranging within a mile of the shore, ten natives were counted, half of whom were probably women, from their keeping behind the others. The men made many antic gestures to our people. One had a green branch in his hand, which he waved to and fro at the extent of his arm, from the ground on one side of him to that on the other; and some of them would run into the water occasionally, and beat the surf with sticks. They appeared to be friendly, using nearly the same word in calling our people that would have been made use of by a Port Jackson native, and seemed desirous that they should proceed up the bay.

At eight in the evening they anchored in eleven fathoms water, about two miles from a low sandy shore on the west side of the bay.

At daylight on Tuesday the 16th, they again weighed to turn up the bay, having the wind still from the southward. In their progress, they met with various depths of water; and, perceiving an opening in the low western land, Mr. Flinders wished to anchor near it, but was prevented by shoal water. At a quarter past eight in the morning they anchored in three fathoms water for the night.

After breakfast Mr. Flinders went in his boat toward the opening, taking Bong-ree the native with him. As they approached the sandy point on the east side of the opening, some dogs came down upon the beach, and soon after several natives made their appearance, most of them carrying fishing nets over their shoulders. They lay upon their oars some time, conversing with them by signs, and repeating the words which they made use of. As they seemed to be friendly, Bong-ree wished to make them a visit; and, seeing nothing among them but the pieces of fire-wood which the natives usually carry with them, the boat was backed in, and he jumped on shore, naked, and as unarmed as they themselves appeared.¹⁸

He quickly made an exchange with the yarn belt from his waist, for a fillet made of kangaroo hair. The muskets were kept at hand in the boat, to be prepared against any treachery; but, every thing seeming to go on well, the natives appearing rather shy than otherwise, Mr. Flinders joined his companion, taking his gun with him. By making friendly signs, laying down the gun, and offering them a woollen cap, he was suffered to approach, and one took the cap; but when Mr. Flinders made signs that he expected to have his net bag in return, he gave him to understand that he must first give him his hat. This hat was made of the white filaments of the cabbage-tree, and seemed to excite the attention and wishes of the whole party.

As the hat was not given to him, he came forward, first throwing the cap that he had received upon the bank behind him, to secure it, and seemed very anxious for either the hat or gun, or both. Every thing, however, was carried on very amicably; and Mr. Flinders, with his native, retreated slowly toward the boat, but turned again, upon finding that they pressed close after them. One of them then, laughing, and talking at the same time to Mr. Flinders, attempted to take the hat off his head with a long hooked stick; which, on his discovering, created a laugh. Behind him another was stretching out a long arm to the same object; but was fearful of coming near enough to reach it.

On our people getting into the boat, and shoving her off into deep water, they did not seem pleased, but tried to persuade them to land again. Finding they could not succeed, one of them threw his piece of fire-wood at them; but it falling short, the matter was treated as a joke, and laughed at. On this, another ran into the water, and threw his also, but it likewise fell short: he then took the hooked stick, and slipping off the hook, which it seems was only lashed or tied on, produced a spear, with which he ran up to the middle in water, and threw at them by hand. It passed over the centre of the boat, about a foot and a half above the gunwale, but touched no one.

After this impudent and unprovoked attack, Mr. Flinders snapped his gun at the man who threw the spear; but the flint having received some wet when it was laid upon the beach, it missed fire. It was loaded with buck shot, and he was strongly tempted to fire among the cluster of natives who were standing upon the beach; but, recollecting himself, he tried again at the offender, who was still standing in the water, with his back turned toward them, and calling to his companions. The gun again missed fire.

While this was transacting, the major part of the natives were observing Mr. Flinders's motions with much unconcern. On the third trial, however, it went off. The man in the water fell flat, as did every individual among them; but those on shore rose almost instantaneously, and scrambled away toward the bank, some upright, and some upon their hands and feet. One of the people in the boat then fired among

them, and they fell again upon their faces; but they all got up, and flew immediately behind the bank into the wood. Even the man in the water rose up, and made off; but his progress was much slower than that of the others, and he stooped a great deal, carrying one hand behind him upon his back. From hence it was conjectured that he was wounded, and he looked every now and then over his shoulder, as if expecting to see the spear that he supposed must be sticking in his back.* According to Bong-ree's account, another native had his arm broken by the second shot.

As this very wanton attack had unfortunately obliged the party to fire upon these people, in order to maintain that superiority which they meant upon all occasions to assert, Mr. Flinders thought it might be the means of preventing much future mischief, to give them a more extensive idea of his power, and thereby deter them from any future attempt in his intercourse with them. For as this bay was to be examined, and the leak which the sloop had sprung was to be stopped here, it became more than probable that they would often meet; and he was well satisfied of the great influence which the awe of a superior power has in savages, to create respect, and render their communications with each other friendly.

In this view, with two musket balls in his gun, he fired at a man who was looking at them from among the trees, and who, being about two hundred yards off, perhaps thought himself secure. One of these balls touched the edge of the bank in a right line for him, the other passed over, but whether it took effect could not be seen. They afterwards landed, intending to bring away the nets, which it was supposed they had in their flight and alarm forgotten. On going upon the bank, previously to ascertain the position of the enemy, he saw several of them running different ways among the trees, apparently with a design of coming round upon them; and, not knowing their force or numbers, Mr. Flinders directed the native and a man who had also landed to return to the boat. But from information since gained from Bong-ree, whose eyes were better than those of Mr. Flinders, he believed they were running to conceal themselves. They had not left their nets.

From the low sandy point where this affair happened, and which obtained the name of Point Skirmish, they proceeded up the opening, which proved to be a river leading to the Glass-House peaks. These peaks stood upon the low flat ground, considerably within the mountains, and, as far as could be judged, had every appearance of being volcanic. That they were so, indeed, was in some measure corroborated by the quantity of pumice stone which was lying at high-water mark upon the eastern shore of the river, on which Mr. Flinders had landed

* A certain proof of his total ignorance of the effect of fire arms, he thus unhappily being the first victim to their use in this part of the country.

to mark the nature and appearance of the country, not being able from the strength of the ebb tide to proceed far in his boat.

Among the largest and most common trees, there was one differing from any that grew at Port Jackson. The leaves of this tree were of a darkish hue, and bore some resemblance to the pine. The wood, when cut, smelt strongly of turpentine, which exuded in places where the bark had been wounded. The external part of the wood was white, but the body was of a reddish brown, the bark somewhat resembling that of a tree at Port Jackson called the iron bark.

The blue gum, she-oak, and cherry tree of Port Jackson were common here, and also one with the leaves of the gum tree, but with the soft bark of the tea tree. The soil where it grew was very sandy; but, fearing that the natives might surprise them while among the trees, Mr. Flinders did not go far from the beach; it was, however, covered with very tall and not innutritious grass.¹⁹

Five or six huts, from twelve to fifteen feet in length, were seen standing near each other. They resembled a covered arch-way, rounded at the far end. The roofs, and the manner of securing them, were nearly the same as those which they had seen in Shoal Bay; but these had not any curved entrance to keep out the weather, nor was the hut any smaller in that part than elsewhere, but the sides and roof were equally calculated to shelter the inhabitants from a storm. In one of them was found a small and very light shield, and in another an old net, which had a bag to it, and was knotted and made in the same way as it would have been if made by an European seine maker. It appeared to be intended for a scoop net. There were marks of a large kangaroo having passed, and many traces of dogs were visible on the beach.

In returning to the sloop they passed a dry shoal lying at the entrance of the river, the deep channel into which was between this shoal and Point Skirmish, where they found from three to six fathoms water.

Before he left the sloop Mr. Flinders had given directions to examine a part on the starboard side, where he suspected the leak to be; and on his return was informed, that it was found to have been occasioned by the starting of a plank from the timber about three or four streaks from the keel. The caulker had filled it up with oakum from the inside, since which she had made but little water lying at an anchor.²⁰

From the situation in which the sloop lay, the bay had not any appearance of closing round, but seemed to promise a large river at its head, and a communication with Moreton Bay, if not something more interesting. At three in the afternoon they got under weigh to proceed up this river, with a light air from the northward, standing to the southward until dark, at which time they anchored, about three miles from the western shore, in five fathoms, on a soft muddy bottom, whereas the ground before had always been sandy.

CHAPTER XX

Further proceedings in Glass-House Bay—Red Cliff Point—Nets of the natives—Moreton Bay found to be an island—The sloop prepared for an attack of the natives—The event—Account of an island—Enter Pumice-Stone River—See some natives—The leak in the sloop stopped—Interviews with natives—Mr. Flinders visits the Glass-House peaks—Account of the country—Return down the river—Other interviews with natives—Their manner of fishing—Singing—Dancing—Other particulars of, and some conjectures respecting them—Quit Pumice-Stone River, and Glass-House-Bay

AT daylight in the morning of Wednesday the 17th, the sloop was got under weigh, and turned up with a southerly breeze, as long as the flood tide lasted, anchoring about half past ten o'clock, a mile and a half from a point with red cliffs.¹ A little to the westward of this point, Mr. Flinders found the latitude to be $27^{\circ} 16' 25''$ south. The rocks here were of stone, strongly impregnated with iron, having some small pieces of granite and crystal scattered about the shore.

From Red-cliff Point, they pulled over to a green head-land, about two miles to the westward.² The small reefs which lay off this head presented a miniature of those which form such a barrier to the northern shore of New South Wales, and render it almost inaccessible.³

In a house which stood upon the west side of the head, they found a net, or seine, about fourteen fathoms long, the meshes of which were much larger than any English seine, and the twine much stronger; but its depth was much less, being not more than three feet. At each end it had a pointed stick of about the same length. Upon the shoal near the house, there was more than one inclosure of a semicircular form, and the sticks and branches of which it was made were set and interwoven so close, that a fish could not pass between. This net Mr. Flinders supposed was to be placed diametrically across the semicircle at high water, and thus secure all the fish that might get within the inclosure, until the falling tide should leave them dry. He brought away the net, as a proof of the superior ingenuity of these over the natives of Port Jackson, leaving them in return a hatchet, the only present which he had to make them; and that they might the sooner learn the great use of their new acquisition, and be consoled for the loss of their net, he cut down some branches and laid them before the hut.

The wood, which at high water was collected for their fire, proved, when cut up, to be cedar, and of a fine grain. The remains of a canoe made of the stringy bark were lying upon the shore, near the house whence the net had been taken.

There were traces of dogs, kangaroos, and emus upon the beach. Two hawks of a moderate size were shot, but their plumage was unlike that of any known at Port Jackson. That which was the most remarkable was of an unvariegated dull red colour in the body, with a milk-white neck, breast, and head.

In the afternoon they made some further progress with the sloop, anchoring for the night on a soft muddy bottom.

On the following morning they got under weigh with a flood tide, and a moderate breeze from the northward.⁴ In their progress, they passed two islands, of from three to four miles each in circuit. The northernmost was the largest, and seemed well covered with wood, the greater part of which was probably mangrove, the island being nearly level with the water's edge. The foliage of the trees upon the southern island was equally dark and luxuriant with this, but the interior part of it was higher. There were two other smaller islands, nearly on a level with the first, and covered with wood, but the southernmost was very small.

In passing between the two islands they had deep water; but on its suddenly shoaling they tacked and stood to the westward. In this situation the entrance from Moreton Bay was open, the south side of which bore N 68° E six or eight miles, and the west side of what will now be Moreton Island bore N 2° W. Another island, apparently larger than either of the four above mentioned, bore from the same place from S 55° to 34° E at the distance of about five miles.⁵ Reckoning the northernmost of the four islands to be the first in number, they made their course good for the third island, after tacking; and the water deepened almost immediately to six fathoms.

At this time their attention was much attracted by a party of natives from these islands, who appeared to be standing up in their canoes, and pulling toward them, with all their strength, in very regular order. They seemed to have long poles or spears in their hands, with which also they appeared to be paddling, the whole of them shifting their hands at the same instant, after the manner of the South Sea islanders. As about twenty of them were counted, and seemed to be coming on with much resolution, our people prepared for whatever might be the event. The sloop was put under easy sail, her decks cleared of every incumbrance, and each man was provided with a competent number of musket balls, pistol balls, and buck shot, which were to be used as the distance might require; for it was intended that not a man should escape if they commenced an attack.⁶

Being thus prepared, they bore away toward them, finding that with all their exertions they did not approach much nearer to the vessel. But what was their surprise on discovering, that, instead of advancing in canoes to attack them, they were standing upon a large flat, that surrounded the third island, driving fish into their nets, and

that they had but two canoes among them. They were standing in a line, splashing in the water with long sticks, first for some time on one side, and then all shifting to splash on the other. Thus this hostile array turned out to be a few peaceable fishermen: peaceable indeed; for on the approach of the vessel they sunk their canoes upon the flat, and retreated to the island, where they made their fires.

The flood tide having ceased to run, they anchored at noon, and by the sun's meridional altitude, in $27^{\circ} 27' 16''$ south latitude. The third island, on which the natives were, bore W 4° S one and a half or two miles distant, and the centres of the two northern ones N 40° and N 15° W. The entrance from Moreton Bay bearing N 68° E from this anchorage, corroborated its latitude by the observation of the 14th, which was taken on the sea side of it although it differed considerably from that given by Captain Cook. This difference may perhaps be thus accounted for. That great navigator finding, by the meridional observation taken on the day following the evening on which he passed this part of the coast, that a northerly current had prevailed in the last twenty-four hours, probably allowed a proportional part of it, to correct the situation of Point Lookout, as given by the log; whereas in reality the northerly current might have commenced only at the time that he opened the Moreton Bay entrance, and became exposed to the outset from it. And it was by no means improbable, that, instead of a northerly, he might have had a southerly set, from the previous noon, when the latitude was $27^{\circ} 46'$ to the time when he opened the entrance; in the same manner as it had prevailed the day before; when the observation was $17'$ south of the log.

From the situation of the sloop at this anchorage, Glass-House-Bay seemed to be closed round, except at one small opening which bore S 27° E. To turn up this opening, they got under sail as soon as the ebb tide slackened. On standing near the south part of the shoal that appeared to surround the island to which the natives had retired, one of them came down abreast of the sloop, making the same gestures, and running backwards and forwards, as others had done before; but little attention was paid to him, Mr. Flinders being more intent on getting as far up the bay as possible while the tide favoured him. A little before midnight he was obliged to anchor, finding that the deep water had contracted into a narrow channel.

On the following day Mr. Flinders landed upon an island that lay in his passage, with instruments for taking angles, and observing the latitude. Footsteps of dogs, and those recent, were numerous upon the beach; but traces of men were scarcely visible: there were, however, several fire-places, and many other marks of the island having lately been visited. This island was two or three miles in circumference. The central part was higher than the skirts, and was covered with a coat of fine vegetable mould of a reddish colour. On the SE side

of the island this elevated part descended suddenly in a steep bank, where the earth was as red as blood; and, being clayey, some portions of it were nearly hardened into rock. The trees upon it, among which was the new pine, were large and luxuriant. The exterior part of the island upon the west side was a flat, over which the tide seemed to rise, and was abundantly covered with large mangrove trees. On the SW and NE sides it was mostly low and sandy, and here the palm nut tree was produced. Probably these nuts formed the principal inducement for the natives to visit this island; and there was abundant testimony under the trees that they were not suffered to fall off and rot. They met with some boughs so ranged as to keep off the southerly winds; and from the fire-places which they were placed to defend, it was inferred that not less than five or six natives had made this their place of residence, probably a temporary one only, as they did not meet with any huts regularly constructed.

The black and the white cockatoo, the beautiful lilac-headed parrot, and the bald-headed mocking bird of Port Jackson, were seen here; but there were not any marks of resident quadrupeds, rats excepted.

The latitude of this island, deduced from the sun's altitude taken at noon, was $27^{\circ} 34' 59''$ S making the depth of this bay, from Cape Moreton, to be thirty-four miles; for beyond this island the bay was contracted into a river, of considerable width indeed, but it appeared to be so shoal, or, if there was any deep channel, to be so difficult of access, that Mr. Flinders gave up all idea of pursuing it further, especially as the winds were obstinately adverse: he therefore returned on board, with the intention of running into the river near the Glass-House peaks, there to lay the sloop on shore, and procure a supply of fresh water, if a convenient situation could be found.⁷

The following day was passed in endeavouring to get into the river, which, from the pumice-stone found upon its shores, obtained the name of Pumice-Stone River, anchoring at sun-set within two miles of its entrance.

Early the next morning (Sunday the 21st), Mr. Flinders went in his boat to examine the river, and the entrance into it. On approaching Point Skirmish, five or six natives came down to the boat unarmed, and, by friendly gestures and offers of their girdles and small nets, endeavoured to persuade him to land. He could not satisfy himself whether they had any treacherous design in this, or whether their presenting themselves unarmed proceeded from any confidence which they might have felt, that neither himself nor his people would hurt them if they were not the aggressors. In this point of view, the offer of their girdles and nets might have been meant as an atonement for their former conduct; he did not, however, choose to trust them, but proceeded to examine the river.⁸

Although the shoals in the river were very intricate; yet, finding

that there was depth of water sufficient to admit the sloop, he determined to get her into it.

Upon these shoals were several pelicans; and they had not proceeded far with their boat before they were greeted with the well-known creaking note of the swan. These now engaged a great part of their attention, and before they left the river eight of them were killed.⁹

When they had nearly reached the end of their excursion, two natives came down to the beach, and seemed desirous for them to land. There being a dry sand at a sufficient distance to be out of the reach of spears, they put ashore upon it. About the same time, Mr. Flinders taking up his gun to fire at two red-bills, the natives ran into the woods; but on Bong-ree's advancing that way they returned, and he made a friendly exchange for their hair fillets and belts, giving them a white woollen cap in return, and came to the boat for a piece of white cloth and some biscuit for them, to make the exchange equal. During this time Mr. Flinders was on shore upon the sand bank with a gun, to cover him in case their behaviour should be unfriendly. On his advancing toward them, they were very vociferous for him to remain at a distance, and would in no wise admit of his approaching without laying down his gun. This place was about six miles from Point Skirmish; but it was evident that the fame and dread of their fire-arms had reached thus far, and were most probably increased by the shooting of the swans, which they must have witnessed.

In returning down the river, they were called to by a man on the west side, who had a spear in his hand; but two women and several children being behind argued rather against any premeditated hostility. The women and children retired on their approaching the shore; but they were observed to be peeping at them from behind the bushes. This man made great exclamations for the musket to be laid down, calling out 'woo-rah, woo-rah,' as others had done, and seemed pleased when it was complied with; but he could not have heard many particulars of their weapons, for, on pointing a musket toward him to try the experiment, he did not appear to be sensible of the danger to himself in that case. As he did not choose to quit his spear, and the sun was descending, they did not land, but backed in near enough to throw him a yarn stocking, which they showed him was to be worn as a cap with a tail to it, and then parted good friends.

Monday the 22nd was passed in getting the sloop into the river, which with some difficulty was accomplished, having to find out a channel through an infinity of shoals, some of which were covered with mangroves. Finding a proper place to lay the sloop on shore, Mr. Flinders took the necessary measures; and on Thursday the 25th, having completely stopped the leak, by filling up the seam with oakum, nailing the plank to afresh, and covering the whole with tarred canvas

and sheet lead, he re-stowed his vessel, which had been cleared of every thing, a few tons of ballast excepted, and was again in a condition to prosecute his intended excursion to the Glass-House peaks.¹⁰

In a spare interval of a few hours before high water, (the day he laid the sloop ashore) he attempted to get some swans, but met with none that could not fly. He saw several large fish, or animals that came up to the surface of the water to blow, in the manner of a porpoise, or rather of a seal, for they did not spout, nor had they any dorsal fin. The head also strongly resembled the bluff-nosed hair seal, but their size was greater than any which Mr. Flinders had seen before. He fired three musket balls into one, and Bong-ree threw a spear into another; but they sunk, and were not seen again. These animals, which perhaps might be sea lions, were not observed any where but in this river.¹¹

Not finding any fresh water wherewith to fill up their casks, they had dug a hole in a low situation about a hundred yards inland. The first spit consisted of vegetable earth, mixed with a large portion of black sand; the three following feet were composed of different layers of sand, and then they came to the hardened black clay of which the rocks on some parts of the banks were formed. Here the water began to ooze in at the sides of the hole, which in the course of thirty-six hours was filled, but with very thick water. Luckily there was not any occasion to use it; for one of the people, incautiously straying into the wood, met with a hole of very good water, at which they completed their stock.

While they were employed in making up the sails, which had been loosed in the first part of the morning to dry, three natives made their appearance upon the beach, a short distance below the vessel, and unarmed as before. Bong-ree went up to them in his usual undaunted manner; but they would not suffer Mr. Flinders or any of his party to approach them, without first laying down their muskets. Presents were made them of yarn caps, pork, and biscuit, all of which they eagerly took, and made signs for Bong-ree to go with them, and they would give him girdles and fillets, to bind round his head and the upper parts of his arms. So long as their visitors consisted only of two, the natives were lively, dancing and singing in concert in a pleasing manner; but, the number of white men having imperceptibly increased to eight, they became alarmed and suspicious, seeming to look with a jealous eye upon a shot belt which Mr. Flinders wore, and which, though they did not rightly know how, might some how or other be a deadly weapon.

Observing this, he gave it to one of the people to take away; but this he afterwards thought was wrong, as tending to make them suspicious of every thing they saw, and thus be a means of destroying their friendly intercourse. By this shot belt they seemed to recognise

Mr Flinders as the person who had fired upon them before, and were more desirous that he should keep at a distance than any other person. Three of the sailors, who were Scotch, were desired to dance a reel, but, for want of music, they made a very bad performance, which was contemplated by the natives without much amusement or curiosity. Finding they could not be persuaded to visit the sloop, our people parted with them, but in a very friendly manner.

Having weighed the anchors (Thursday the 25th) they turned two or three miles further up the river in the afternoon, for the convenience of being nearer to the Glass-House peaks, which he now intended to visit. In the deepest parts of the river, there were from four to six fathoms water; but the channel was much divided, and narrow. They anchored near that place on the western shore where the man who had a family with him had called to them; and at this time they saw a fire, and heard several younger female voices in the same place.¹²

On the following morning Mr. Flinders took the boat up a small branch that pointed toward the peaks, but afterwards, joining the same stream, formed two low mangrove islands, leaving the Glass-Houses at some distance on the left hand. About half past nine he left the boat, accompanied by two seamen and the native. Steering NW by W through a low swampy country, brought them to the side of a creek, the banks of which were low, muddy, and covered with mangroves. This creek carried them by the south west near the head of it, where the stream, passing through a rocky swamp, permitted them to wade over it. Thence they steered between N 50° and 60° West, getting a sight of the flat-topped peak at times, which, appearing to be considerably nearer than the highest Glass-House, was that which he first meant to visit; but observing that one of the round mounts with sloping sides was still nearer, he altered his course for it; and, after walking about nine miles from the boat, reached the top.

The country through which they had passed was low, swampy, and brushy, and in the latter part of the way somewhat uneven. In those parts which were swampy, the surface was full of winding holes, where the water, lodging, rendered walking both difficult and tiresome. The places that were somewhat higher were either sandy or stony, and in these the grass tree (or gum rush) abounded; but, in general, the trees were the same as before mentioned, except that the pine was not observed to be among them.

The mount was a pile of stones of all sizes, mostly loose near the surface. The decayed vegetable matter that was lodged in the cavities produced a thick covering of long, but rather spindly grass, very fit for thatch from its length. The ascent was difficult, and similar to that up Mount Direction, which stands on the east bank of the

Derwent river in Van Diemen's Land. The trees upon the mount were the same as on the level ground, but taller and more straight.

From the summit of this mount, the view of the bay and neighbouring country was very extensive. The uppermost part of the bay appeared at S 24° E and most probably communicated with a line of water which was visible at S 12° E where there were several distinct columns of smoke. This last bearing, which Mr. Flinders apprehended to be near the head of the river, he was not permitted to enter with the sloop, from the intricacy of the channel, and the shortness of the time which remained for his excursion.

Near the head of Pumice-Stone river there was a large spread of water, bearing S 72° E and seeming to divide off into small branches. There were other small branches falling into this below, the whole forming into channels, which, ramifying through the low country, drew off whatever water might collect within the ridge of the back mountains. These appeared to be within the distance of between ten and twenty miles, lying in a north and south direction; and the intermediate country to be nearly as low as that which they had walked over. There was a large smoke near the foot of them.

From this mount, the way was over an irregular country, the higher parts of which were sandy and stony, the lower swampy as before. At about two thirds of the distance between it and the flat-topped peak (one mile and a half), they were induced by a stream of water to rest for the night, the sun being then below the trees. At seven the next morning they found themselves under the steep cliffs of the flat-topped peak. The stone of which this was composed was of a whitish cast, close-grained and hard, but not heavy. It was not stratified, but there were many fissures in it. At a little distance from the peak there were some pieces of a reddish-coloured stone, and some small pieces of granite scattered about.

Mr. Flinders was somewhat surprised at not meeting with any volcanic appearances, as the pumice stone in the river, and the situation of these stupendous peaks, standing upon low flat ground, led him to form some anxious expectations upon that head. But it must be observed, that, although he could not distinguish any traces of scoria, lava, basaltes, or other igneous remains, yet they might still exist, more especially about the high Glass-House, which he did not visit.

As the steepness of its sides utterly forbade all idea of reaching the summit of the flat-topped peak, he directed his course downwards to the river, steering SSE to go clear of the head of the creek, and of the swamps in its vicinity; but this direction took him a great way inland; and upon his altering the course to reach the place where he had left the boat, he had to cross a broad stream of fresh water which fell in lower down, and to walk near three miles to reach

the water side. He, however, hit the place with unexpected readiness, and was very acceptably presented with a black swan, which the people in the boat had caught, and which was at the moment ready for satisfying the appetites of his party, which were not trifling, for a more laborious and tiresome walk of the same length would seldom be experienced.

The traces of men and animals were very few, and but rarely met with in the upper parts of this excursion; but Mr. Flinders found a new species of pheasant, about the size of an English magpie. The emu was not seen, although its voice had been so often heard, as to induce him to suppose that bird must be numerous. The more inland part of the country was something higher and better than in the neighbourhood of the salt water; but no where did he meet with any that was calculated for the production of wheat.¹³

Having reached the sloop in the evening, as soon as the ebb tide permitted, the following morning, Sunday the 28th, they got under weigh to turn down the river, with the wind at SSE. There were many natives on the shore abreast of them, who seemed particularly anxious to be visited, dancing and singing to attract attention, and express their own good-will; and, when they could not prevail upon our people to land, followed the sloop along the banks, their hopes seeming to revive by the trips which in tacking they occasionally made towards the shore.

The intricacy of the channels proving a great impediment to their progress, they could not get out of the river in one tide, but anchored about a mile short of the entrance. Three swans, that the boat caught in coming down, made the number of eighteen which had been procured in this river.

Shortly after anchoring, Mr. Flinders took some people with axes on shore to cut a log of the pine* for the workmen at Port Jackson, who might ascertain the kind and worth of the wood.¹⁴ There was a house and several natives near the place, with whom Bong-ree was in conversation when the tree fell, the crash and report of which startled them a good deal, and might probably assist in giving them a higher idea of the power of their visitors. These people were still very averse from the appearance or approach of a musket, keeping a watchful eye upon their least movement. The gallant and unsuspecting native, Bong-ree, made them a present of one of his spears, and a throwing-stick, of which he showed them the use, for they appeared to be wholly ignorant of the latter, and their weapons of the former kind were inferior to his.

Very bad weather detained Mr. Flinders here for two days, during

* This pine was pronounced to be of the same species as that found in the middle harbour of Port Jackson, but was much superior to it in size.

which they were occasionally visited by the natives, who came down upon both sides of the river, and entertained them with singing and dancing: their singing, indeed, could not be distinctly heard, being nearly lost in the wind. Not a spear was at any time seen among them.

While lying here, Mr. Flinders had some opportunity of observing their manner of fishing, which was perfectly new to his companion Bong-ree.¹⁵ The party on the east shore, near which the vessel lay, went out each morning at daylight along the side of the river with nets on their shoulders; and this, as far as a distant view would allow of observation, appeared to be the mode in which they used them. Whichever of the party sees a fish, by some dextrous manoeuvre, gets at the back of it, and spreads out his scoop net: others prevent its escaping on either side, and in one or other of their nets the fish is almost infallibly caught. With these nets they saw them run sometimes up to their middle in water; and, to judge from the event, they seemed to be successful, as they generally soon made a fire near the beach, and sat down by it; not doubt, to regale with their fish, which was thus no sooner out of the water than it was on the fire.

The rain ceasing on Tuesday afternoon, a party went to the eastern shore to procure fire-wood, and to comply with the desire which the natives had so often expressed of seeing them land among them. On approaching them, they carried their nets away into the wood; but three of them, who remained, suffered the white people to advance without laying down their muskets, which had never happened before. They were still timorous; but, on being encouraged and requested by signs to sing, they began a song in concert, which actually was musical and pleasing, and not merely in the diatonic scale, descending by thirds, as at Port Jackson: the descent of this was waving, in rather a melancholy soothing strain. The song of Bong-ree, which he gave them at the conclusion of theirs, sounded barbarous and grating to the ear; but Bong-ree was an indifferent songster, even among his own countrymen.

These people, like the natives of Port Jackson, having fallen to the low pitch of their voices, recommenced their song at the octave, which was accompanied by slow and not ungraceful motions of the body and limbs, their hands being held up in a supplicating posture, and the tone and manner of their song and gestures seemed to bespeak the good will and forbearance of their auditors. Observing that they were attentively listened to, they each selected one of our people, and placed his mouth close to his ear, as if to produce a greater effect, or, it might be, to teach them the song, which their silent attention might seem to express a desire to learn. In return for the pleasure they had afforded, Mr. Flinders gave them some worsted caps, and a pair of old blanket trousers, with which they were much

gratified. Several other natives soon made their appearance, probably those who had carried away the nets. It was some little time before they could overcome their dread of approaching the strangers with their fire-arms; but, encouraged by the three who were with them, they came up, and a general song and dance was commenced. Their singing was not confined to one air; they gave three, but the first was the most pleasing.

Of those who last came, three were remarkable for the largeness of their heads; and one, whose face was very rough, had much more the appearance of a baboon than of a human being. He was covered with oily soot; his hair matted with filth; his visage, even among his fellows, uncommonly ferocious; and his very large mouth, beset with teeth of every hue between black, white, green, and yellow, sometimes presented a smile, which might make one shudder.

Among other friendly interchanges, they learned the names of Mr. Flinders and his party. Him they called *'Mid-ger Plindah,' and his brother Samuel they named Dam-wel. Three of their names were Yel-yel-bah, Ye-woo, and Bo-ma-ri-go. The resemblance of this last to Porto Rico imprinted it on Mr. Flinders's recollection. When these people joined the party, the strangers were shown, and their names severally told to them, until they had gotten the pronounciation. This ceremony was reciprocal, and accorded with what Captain Cook had said before of an inhabitant of Endeavour river, 'he introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which upon such occasions was never omitted.' The difference of latitude between these two places is 11° 39', or seven hundred miles.

With regard to the comparative size of these people, they were evidently somewhat lower than the common standard of Englishmen, and perhaps less in every respect, except in the disproportionate size of the head; and indeed this was not general. In the features of the face, particularly in the elongation of the lower ones, in the small calf to the leg, and the curve of the thigh, they bore a general resemblance to the natives of Port Jackson; but there was not one in all this group, whose countenance had so little of the savage, or the symmetry of whose limbs expressed strength and agility, so much, as those of their companion Bong-ree.

A hawk presenting himself in an interval of conversation, Mr. Flinders thought it a fair opportunity of shewing his new friends a specimen of the effect and certainty of his fire-arms. He made them comprehend what was intended; but, while shifting the buck shot which were in the musket for a charge of small shot, their agitation was so great,

* In these particularities, their language resembled that of the Port Jackson natives. It may be seen in the former account, that Mr. Ball was named Mid-ger Bool, and that none of them could ever pronounce the letters f or s. Even Bennillong, on his return from England, still used caw-be for coffee. Many other instances might be adduced.

that they seemed to be on the point of running into the woods; however, an expedient to keep them was devised; the seamen placed them in a cluster behind themselves, and in this situation they anxiously saw Mr. Flinders approach toward the bird, and fire. What must have been his sensations at this moment! for the hawk flew away, though not indeed unhurt, as the natives noticed that the leg was broken. This disappointment brought to his recollection how ineffectual had been some former attempts of his to impress them with an idea of the superior refinement of his followers. Bong-ree, his musician, had annoyed his auditors with his barbarous sounds, and the clumsy exhibition of his Scotch dancers unaccompanied with the aid of music, had been viewed by them without wonder or gratification.

It is almost unnecessary to say that these people go naked. They, however, wore belts round the waist, and fillets about the head and upper parts of the arm. These were formed of hair, twisted into yarn-like threads, and then into bandages, mostly reticulated. Indeed the inhabitants of this bay appeared to possess in general a very pointed difference from, if not a superiority over, those of New South Wales, particularly in their net-works. A seine eighty feet in length, and the scoop nets which they use, have been mentioned. To these may be added the bag in which they seemed to carry their portable property, and which was most probably of the same kind as those mentioned by Captain Cook; but they were seen of different sizes, and two that Mr. Flinders procured were very differently worked. They were in general shaped somewhat like a breast plate; and, being suspended from the necks of the possessors, led him, previous to his first interview with them, to suppose they were some kind of defence for the more vital parts. There was no doubt but that they were provided with nets for catching very large fish, or animals, as the fragments of a rotten one lying on the shore were picked up, the meshes of which were wide enough to admit the escape of a moderate sized porpoise; and the line of which it was made was from three quarters to an inch in circumference. Probably the large animals which Mr. Flinders took to be sea lions might be the objects for which these large nets were fabricated.

Mr. Flinders was of opinion, that this mode of procuring their food would cause a characteristic difference between the manners, and perhaps the dispositions, of these people, and of those who mostly depend upon the spear or fiz-gig for a supply. In the one case, there must necessarily be the co-operation of two or more individuals; who therefore, from mutual necessity, would associate together. It is fair to suppose, that this association would, in the course of a few generations, if not much sooner, produce a favourable change in the manners and dispositions even of a savage. In the other case, the native who depends upon his single arm, and, requiring not the aid of society, is indifferent

about it, but prowls along, a gloomy, unsettled, and unsocial being. An inhabitant of Port Jackson is seldom seen, even in the populous town of Sydney, without his spear, his throwing-stick, or his club. His spear is his defence against enemies. It is the weapon which he uses to punish aggression and revenge insult. It is even the instrument with which he corrects his wife in the last extreme; for in their passion, or perhaps oftener in a fit of jealousy, they scruple not to inflict death. It is the play-thing of children, and in the hands of persons of all ages. It is easy to perceive what effect this must have upon their minds. They become familiarised to wounds, blood, and death; and, repeatedly involved in skirmishes and dangers, the native fears not death in his own person, and is consequently careless of inflicting it on others.

The net also appearing to be a more certain source of food than the spear, change of place will be less necessary. The encumbrance too of carrying large nets from one place to another will require a more permanent residence; and hence it would naturally follow, that their houses would be of a better construction. Those which had been met with in Shoal Bay and Glass-House Bay were certainly far superior to any that had been seen in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson; and this superiority Mr. Flinders attributed to the different mode of procuring fish which had been adopted by the inhabitants. He likewise supposed that the use of nets, and consequently whatever resulted from such use, arose from the form of the bay, which, being shoal for a considerable distance from the shores, gave the greatest advantage to nets, over every other method, more especially the setting and scoop nets. Pumice Stone river, being full of shoals, required the same manner of fishing; and it was observed that most, if not all, of the islands in the bay were surrounded by extensive shoals, which, by extending the necessity, would assist in bringing nets into more general use.

At one time they saw near twenty natives engaged in fishing upon one of these flats, the greater part of whom were employed in driving fish into a net which was held by their companions. That they were so engaged, they convinced our people by one of the party holding up a fish to them while he was standing in the water.

During the time the sloop was in Glass-House Bay, they scarcely saw any of the women.

Of their canoes but little could be reported. The only one which Mr. Flinders had any opportunity of examining was on the east side of Pumice-Stone river. This was formed of the stringy bark, and was much larger than any used at Port Jackson. The ends of it were tied up in the same manner; but it was misshapen and clumsy. Not any of the natives ever attempted to approach the sloop in canoes, although

at times eight or ten were seen standing together, who appeared very desirous of having a communication with it.

On the day the sloop was laid ashore in the river, the rise of the tide was but three feet and nine inches. The tides were then neaped, and the remark made by Captain Cook, that 'they had only one high tide in twenty-four hours' seemed to apply in this bay; for, although the sloop was got up as high as the strength of the crew would admit, yet she righted a full hour and a half before the night tide had done flowing, and shortly after one man haled her off. The superior rise of the night tide was well known, and advantage taken of it, at Port Jackson: it also rose the highest at Western Port, round the southern promontory of New South Wales. The time of high-water in the river preceded the moon's passage over the meridian by two hours and a half; and Mr. Flinders did not think the highest rise of the tide was more than seven, or less than five, feet.

On Wednesday the 31st, having a moderate breeze at S by W with fine weather, they got under weigh with the weather tide, and beat out of the river.¹⁶ Having passed fifteen days in Glass-House Bay, Mr. Flinders was enabled to form his judgment of it. It was so full of shoals, that he could not attempt to point out any passage that would lead a ship into it without danger. The east side of the Bay had not been sounded; if any existed, it would probably be found on that side.

Mr. Flinders named the land upon which Cape Moreton was situated Moreton Island, supposing it to be that which Captain Cook would have given it, had he known of its insulated form. It appeared to be a strip of land whose greatest extent east and west was not more than four or five miles; but, according to the observations for the latitude, its north and south extent was about twenty-two miles. The ridge of land which ran along the middle of the island was nearly of the same height with the Cape; and, although it appeared to be composed of great piles of sand heaped together upon a base mostly of stone, it was yet interspersed with small trees calculated to mislead a distant observer, who would probably think that some parts of it were not among the most barren spots in the universe.

In passing out of the bay they saw a large turtle lying asleep upon the water; whence it became not improbable, that the capture of these animals might form a part of the labours of the inhabitants, and of the intention with which their larger nets were made.

CHAPTER XXI

The Norfolk proceeds to Hervey's Bay—Some account of it—Curlew Island—She returns to Port Jackson—Observations on the currents and tides along the coast—A criminal court assembled—Order respecting the issuing of Government Notes—Public works—September—A ship arrives from America—The Buffalo sails for the Cape—The Governor crosses the Nepean—A calf killed—October—Convicts found on board the Hillsborough and Hunter—The master of the Hunter tried—A young ox stolen—Ration reduced—Price of grain fixed

IN his passage to Hervey's Bay, the next place of his destination, Mr. Flinders was not more than two days; passing the Wide Bay of Captain Cook on the 1st and Sandy Cape on the 2nd of August.¹ The southerly wind of the day veering round in the evening to the eastward compelled him during the night to keep at a distance from the land; but, returning to it in the morning, he found that Captain Cook's description of the coast applied exceedingly well, so far as the distance of the sloop from the shore would enable him to judge.

During this short run he passed one of those spotted flat-tailed snakes which were first noticed by Captain Cook in this latitude, and which appeared to be of the kind observed by Captain Dampier on the north west coast of New Holland.² Mr. Flinders had observed the same sort of snake among the islands between New Guinea and New Holland, when on board His Majesty's ship *Providence*; it was therefore probable, that it might be found upon most parts of this coast, which were situated within, or in the verge of, the Tropic.

In this bay Mr. Flinders remained until the 7th, during which time he had sailed round the interior of it, but without being able to enter any opening that might have led him to a river.³ It was deep and extensive, the soundings in it very irregular, and in several places he was prevented by breakers from approaching the shore.

Hauling up for an opening which he was desirous of examining, he came to a small sandy islet, which lay at the mouth of it. Being unable to find a passage into the opening with the sloop, he came to an anchor, and went ashore upon this island, which was surrounded with shoal water. The base of it he found to be a hard stone, over which was a covering of sand, mixed with pieces of coral and shells. There was a little cluster of palms upon it, and some other small trees. Two or three large trees were lying upon the shore, thrown down either by wind or the flood, assisted by the weight of the trees themselves, which the depth of soil was not sufficient to support.

They were a tough, hard, and close-grained wood. Being about half ebb, the surrounding shoal was dry. On it were some thousand curlews and gulls, and some pelicans; but all too shy to allow of his approach within musket shot. Upon one of the trees was stuck the cap of a small whale's skull, and in one of the sockets of the eyes was a bird's nest apparently of the last season.

This islet must at times be visited by natives; for they found three spears, and near them was hidden a small shield, of the same form and substance as that seen in Pumice-Stone river. The spears were of solid wood, of twelve feet in length, and could not have been used with a throwing-stick. One of them was barbed with a small piece of some animal's bone.

From the trending of the shores of this harbour, it was divided into two bays, an upper and a lower bay; the former of which was the smallest, and, in comparison with the latter, resembled the cod to a seine. The shore on the east side of this bay (the upper) was high, and bounded by white, steep cliffs; whence Mr. Flinders was induced to hope that a deep channel might be found there, being unwilling to believe that there was not a good passage even to the head of a sheet of water of six or seven miles square, and into which most probably one or more streams of water emptied themselves.

With the intention of attempting the eastern passage into this upper bay, he returned on board from his visit to the islet (which he named Curlew-Islet, and which is in the latitude of $25^{\circ} 17' S$) and got the sloop under weigh; but was obliged to give up the idea, on finding the shoal water so extensive as to make it probable that it joined a line of breakers; and, the sun being near the horizon, to get clear of the shoal water before dark became a principal concern, and together induced him to shape a course for a sloping hummock on the west side of the bay.

The soundings deepened gradually to six fathoms; but, shoaling again to three and even two fathoms, Mr Flinders suspected that the flood tide might have set the vessel to the southward toward the shore; this, however, did not appear to have happened; for at daylight the following morning her situation was what he supposed it would be, the sloping hummock bearing $W 5^{\circ} N$ and their distance off shore about two miles, the wind having remained at SW during the whole night.

Keeping along the shore until nine o'clock, the water shoaled to nine feet, and obliged them to haul off to the NE. Being now to the northward of where Captain Cook had laid down the coast line, and the land being visible at $W 10^{\circ} N$ from the deck, and as far as NW from the mast head, he judged it unnecessary to pursue the research any longer, under the supposition of there being a double bay, and therefore continued his course for the extreme of Break

Sea Spit, the sloping hummock bearing S 9° E at the time of altering the course.

The coast round Hervey's Bay was, in general, low near the shore, and on the west side the low land extended to some distance inwards. On that side the land wore a different appearance from that of Sandy Cape, there being few marks of sand, and the shore was mostly rocky. Advancing toward the head, the beaches presented themselves, and continued with little interruption into the upper bay. A large island lying off the entrance to the upper bay shewed no marks of sand, but was well covered with wood and verdure. In height, it was equal to the higher parts of the main, and being four or five miles in length, seemed to be a fine island. On the eastern shore the sand was more or less apparent every where, increasing in quantity toward the cape. The white cliffs that were noticed before very probably contained chalk; the upper stratum, two or three feet in thickness, being of a superior whiteness in those which were best seen.

With respect to fertility, the general aspect only can be spoken of. About the head of the bay, the trees were of a fair growth; grass seemed sufficiently abundant, and there were few appearances of sand. Some parts of it Mr. Flinders thought were stony.

Of the inhabitants he could only observe, that their smokes were numerous about the bay, and that they at times frequented Curlew islet.

Of the animal, vegetable, or fossil productions of the bay, he could not speak, the shortness of his stay not permitting any examination.

From the appearance of the tide the day that he landed upon the islet, it had been high water between twelve and one o'clock, which was between three and four hours before the moon came upon the meridian.

The mean of nine amplitudes taken in this bay gave the variation $9^{\circ} 44'$ east; and of two sets of azimuths $9^{\circ} 15'$ east; from both, the mean variation of the azimuth compass was $9^{\circ} 30'$ east.

Having cleared the point of Break Sea Spit, on Thursday the 8th he proceeded on his return to Port Jackson. Passing the land between Smoky Cape and the Solitary Isles in the day which had been before passed in the night, he observed that it seemed to be higher than most parts of its coast in the neighbourhood, Mount Warning excepted; and even there it was not so high near the shore. The view that he had of the land at sunset, when Smoky Cape bore S 25° W distant five or six leagues, induced Mr. Flinders to think it probable that there might be an opening to the northward of it.

In the afternoon of Sunday the 18th, there being but little wind, and the weather fine, they were attended by several very large sperm-ceti whales. They were not more than twice the sloop's length from

her, coming up on either side at times very near her; and remained playing, or perhaps feeding, in this way for more than two hours.⁴

Their appearance was followed in the evening by a gale from the SW which reduced them to their storm sails, and compelled them to keep off and on during the night. The wind, however, moderating the next day, and a southerly current having been in their favour, Mr. Flinders concluded his labours at dusk in the evening of the 20th; at which time he secured his little vessel alongside his Majesty's ship the *Reliance* in Port Jackson.

The observations which were made by Mr. Flinders on the set of the current at different parts of the coast, being directly opposite to the remarks of Captain Cook, it may be proper to state them. That great and able seaman says, in his notice of the current on this coast, that 'it always ran with more force in shore than in the offing.' Now, in going to the northward the sloop was kept as near in shore as circumstances would permit; but the whole sum of southing produced in eight entire days, from latitude $33^{\circ} 45'$ to $24^{\circ} 22'$ south, was sixty-five miles, almost the whole of which were lost off the Three Brothers and Smoky Cape, when their distance from the shore was more than in general it used to be. To counteract this, they had twenty-five miles of northing, reducing the current to thirty miles in eight days, which could scarcely be called a current.

On the other hand, their average distance from the shore, when on their return, was about twelve leagues, or barely within sight of the land; and in running the same difference of latitude in twelve days the sum of the southing was two hundred and eleven miles, and the northing but one mile and a half. Out of this, thirty-four miles were gained in one day when their distance off the shore was the greatest, being between twenty and twenty-five leagues.

From these data it should appear, that the current was strongest at the distance of five, and from thence to twenty or more leagues; and within that, there was some set to the northward. But Mr. Flinders thought it most probable, that the southerly current would prevail nearer to such projecting points of land as Point Danger, Smoky Cape, Red Point, and the Heads of Jervis Bay; perhaps close to them, at such times when its strength was greatest, for in that respect it had been found to vary much: it was even believed at Port Jackson, that the current changes its direction totally during some short space of time.

Of the tides it was scarcely necessary to say any thing; for, by a comparison of the times of high water at Bustard Bay and at Port Jackson, it should seem that the flood came from the southward; and would therefore produce little or no set along the coast either way, in the greatest part of that space. It was probable, however that,

to the southward of Smoky Cape, the flood would draw some what from the northward; for there the land trended to the west ward of south; and likewise the nearer the coast lies east and west, the more set would be produced by the tide along it; as from Cape Howe to Wilson's Promontory for instance. Again, from Break Sea Spit, the coast trends to the westward of north, which has a tendency to draw the flood from the SE and this was shown by Captain Cook to be the case.

We must here take leave of Captain Flinders, whose skill in exploring unknown coasts and harbours, so amply manifested in this excursion, creates an additional interest in the success of his present undertaking.⁵

The courts of criminal judicature being assembled on the 29th of the month, one man, Job Williams, was capitally convicted of a burglary; and several others, free people, were ordered to be transported to Norfolk Island. Williams afterwards received a pardon, some favourable circumstances having been laid before the governor, which induced him to extend the mercy vested in him by His Majesty's authority.⁶

The difficulties which were still placed in the way of the commissary in preparing his accounts to be sent home, through the settlers and other persons, who had not come forward, as they were some time since directed, to sign the requisite vouchers for the sums paid them for the grain or pork which they had delivered at the public stores, the commissary was directed not to make immediate payment in future, but to issue the government notes quarterly only, when every person concerned would be obliged to attend, and give the proper receipts for such sums as might be then paid them. This was a most useful regulation, and had been long wanted.⁷

The convicts brought out by the *Hillsborough* being mostly recovered from the disease and weakness with which they landed, some additional strength was gained to the public gangs, and the different works in hand went on with more spirit than they had done for some time past. In addition to the battery which, under the direction of Lieutenant Kent, had been constructed by the seamen of the *Supply* on the east point of the cove, the work on Point Maskelyne had been raised and completed with embrasures; some guns were placed in a commanding situation above the wind-mill on the west side; and a work had been erected upon Garden-Island; so that, in point of defence, the settlement at this time wore a respectable appearance.

The weather had for some time past been moderate and temperate.

September.] In the night of the 6th of September, the American ship *Resource* arrived, after a passage of four months from Rhode Island, bound to China. Mr. Magee, who was last here in the *Grand Turk*, was on board the *Resource*. Having refreshed the people, who certainly required some rest after such a voyage, she sailed again on the 14th; but, to the great injury of such Americans as might

visit the settlement after him, the master took away several people, among whom were some seamen belonging to the King's ships on this station. To recruit their numbers, as well as to refresh those he had on board, were probably his motives for coming in; but such conduct was deserving of a representation to the American minister, which the governor accordingly determined to make.

On the morning of the 15th, his Majesty's ship *Buffalo* sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, thence to return with cattle for the colony. It had been wished to have sent a cargo of coals by her to the Cape; but the repairs which she required had taken up so much time, that to have loaded her with that article would have thrown her departure too far into the season for sailing to the Cape, to admit of her return within the summer months, a measure absolutely necessary for preserving her cattle. This would otherwise have been an object too desirable to have been neglected.⁸

The *Buffalo* was commanded and manned by the officers and ship's company of the *Supply*.⁹ Dispatches were sent to England by this opportunity, and contained, among others, a requisition for such materials as were wanting to carry into effect the endeavour to manufacture woollens and linens, viz a large quantity of reeds from 400 to 1600; two complete sets of hackles; one gross of tow and wool cards, with a quantity of log wood, red wood, copperas, and allum.

Having dispatched this ship, the governor set off on a visit to the wild cattle. Leaving Parramatta on the 24th, he crossed the Nepean the following day, but much further to the northward than he had done before. In this direction he and his party traversed a new tract of country, which was not only beautiful to the eye*, but highly calculated for cultivation and pasturage.

On their arrival at the Cow-pasture Plains, they fell in with a herd of the cattle, about twenty in number, and so extremely fierce, that, had it not been for the dogs which were with them, they would probably have been attacked. Some natives, who had accompanied the governor, were so alarmed, that they availed themselves of their expertness in climbing trees, and left their friends to provide for their own safety how they could. These dogs having been hunted at the cattle, much against the governor's wish, by some of the party, who did it, as not thinking their situation perfectly safe, the animals were dismayed at the unusual appearance and went off; but a bull calf, about six months old, was detained by the dogs. Him the governor directed to be let loose; but here a strange circumstance occurred. Having three horses with the party, the calf would not quit them; but, running between their legs, cried out for the flock, which, from

* What a contrast and relief must an excursion of this kind afford, to the living in the unvarying repetition of criminal courts, and their attendant crimes and punishments!

his bellowing, there was reason to apprehend would return, to the great danger of the party; one of the gentlemen was therefore obliged to stop his cries by shooting him through the head, and the whole regaled upon veal, a rare dish in this country.

On quitting the Cow-pasture Plains, the party crossed the river again, higher up than they had formerly done; and were led for about four miles over a mountainous country, but adapted either for tillage or pasture. They then crossed a fine tract of level country, rich in the most luxuriant grass, and uncommonly well watered, chains of ponds being found every two or three miles.

October.] On their return they found that the *Eliza* whaler had arrived from sea, not wanting more than thirty tons of oil to complete her cargo.

A number of the public labouring servants of the crown having lately absconded from their duty, for the purpose either of living by robbery in the woods, or of getting away in some of the ships now about to sail, that none of those concerned in the concealing them might plead ignorance, public notice was given 'that any officer or man belonging to the above ships, who should be known to have countenanced or assisted the convicts above alluded to in making their escape, would be taken out of the ship, and punished with the utmost severity of the law; and as the most strict and scrupulous search would take place on board, for every convict which should be found concealed, or suffered to remain on board without regular permission, so many of the ship's company should be taken out and detained for daring to encourage such escape. Such of the above public servants as might have taken to concealments on shore for the purpose of avoiding their work, or making their escape from the colony, if they did not return within a week to their respective stations, might, upon discovery, expect the most exemplary punishment; but they would be pardoned for the present attempt if they returned immediately.'

On the day this order was issued¹⁰, the *Hillsborough*, which was moving out of the Cove, and preparing for sea, was strictly searched, and several convicts being found on board, they were brought on shore, and each received a severe corporal punishment. One of them was excused, on condition of his declaring who the people were that had encouraged their concealment, and prepared hiding places for them. He accordingly deposed to two of the seamen, who were also brought on shore, punished, and afterwards drummed to the wharf, and sent back to their ship. The foregoing order was then published.

How well it was attended to, and what effect the punishment of the seamen and convicts produced, were instantly seen. The *Hunter**

* This ship had been a Spanish prize, and was the property of Mr. Hingston, late master of the *Hillsborough*, and two others, free people belonging to the settlement.

preparatory to a voyage to Bengal, where she was to freight with goods for the colony, went out of the harbour. A woman named Ann Holmes being missing, the governor ordered an armed boat from the *Reliance* to follow the ship, with some of the constables, and search her; with directions, if any persons were found on board who had not permission to depart, to bring her into port again. Having found the woman, the ship was brought up the harbour and secured.

Several of her crew having behaved in a most insolent and mutinous manner to the officer of the *Reliance*, having armed themselves against the constables with cutlasses, and one of them having presented a musket at the chief constable, they were secured, ordered to be punished on board their own ship, and afterwards turned on shore. But it was necessary to do something more than this; and, a criminal court being assembled for the purpose, the master of the ship was brought to trial, charged with aiding and abetting a female convict to make her escape from the colony.¹¹ As the offence consisted in aiding a convict, it was requisite to prove that such was the person found on board his ship; but, upon referring to a list of the prisoners who were embarked in the *Royal Admiral*, the ship in which Ann Holmes had been sent out to New South Wales, no specific term of transportation was found annexed to her name. On the question then, whether the master had aided a convict in making an escape, he was acquitted, it not being possible by any document to prove that Holmes was at that moment a convict. But the master was reprehensible in concealing any person whatever in his ship, and ought to have felt the awkwardness of his situation, in being brought before a court for the breach of an order expressly issued a short time before to guard him and others against the offence that he had committed.

When the *Hillsborough* was searched, not less than thirty convicts were found to have been received on board, against the orders and without the knowledge of the officers, and secreted by the seamen. This ship and the *Hunter*, shortly after these transactions, sailed on their respective voyages.

But although, by the measures which had been adopted, it was supposed that none of these people had escaped in the ships, yet many were still lurking in the woods. About this time a young ox was missing from the government stock-yard at Toongabbie, and there was every reason to suppose had been driven away and slaughtered by some of those wretches. In the hope of discovering the offender, a notice was published, holding out a conditional emancipation, and permission to become a settler, to any convict for life, who would come forward with the information necessary to convict the persons concerned in this destructive kind of robbery; and an absolute emancipation, with permission to quit the colony, to any one transported only for a limited time; but nothing was ever adduced that could lead to a discovery.

The scarcity of wheat at this time in the public stores rendering it necessary to deduct two pounds from the twelve which were issued, addition was made to the weekly allowance of salt meat, eight pounds and a half of beef being issued in lieu of five, and five pounds of pork in lieu of three. This alteration was to continue until the new crops came in.¹²

These wearing at present a very promising appearance, and the various and unforeseen misfortunes which had from time to time attended the exertions of the industrious in agriculture, being, it was hoped, now at an end, the governor, conceiving it to be no longer consistent with his duty to continue the original prices of grain, directed that in future the following should be given, viz, for wheat, per bushel, 8 shillings; for the present barley, per bushel, 6 shillings¹³; and for maize, per bushel, 4 shillings which prices were to commence on the 1st day of January 1800.

The scarcity of wheat in the public store was occasioned by the unbounded extravagance of the labouring people, who had, in consequence of the last unproductive season, reduced those who supported themselves to very great distress¹⁴; and several persons, who some time since would gladly have sent their wheat to the store at the established price, had now refused it, when the store was capable of receiving it; and, taking advantage of the scarcity which they themselves had occasioned, had raised the price of wheat to £1 10s per bushel: a shameful extortion!

CHAPTER XXII

The Reliance sails for Norfolk Island, and the Walker arrives with Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson from England—Dispatches received—Orders respecting bread—Transactions—Regulations—Storm of wind—December—The Britannia whaler sails for England—Settlers dissatisfied—A Spanish prize arrives—The Martha from Cape Barren Island—A criminal court held—Wheat continued at the former price—Gaol burnt at Parramatta—Harvest begun—Live stock

November.]

ON the 2nd of the month, his Majesty's ship the *Reliance* sailed with the relief of the military on duty at Norfolk Island; and in the afternoon of the following day the ship *Walker* anchored in the Cove from England. On board of this ship were Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, and Captain Abbot, of the New South Wales corps.

Dispatches were at this time received, whereby the governor, being directed to cause a register to be kept of all ships entering inwards and clearing outwards of the harbour, he appointed Richard Atkins, esq to the service¹; and it became an article in the port orders which were delivered to the masters of ships upon their arrival, that they were not upon any account to break bulk, or attempt to land any article whatever, until such time as an account of the ship, her commander, cargo, etc. had been laid before the governor. It was at the same time signified, that no boat, or any person whomsoever, except the pilot, such officer as might be sent by the governor, and the person appointed to fill up the register, should ever board strange ships entering the port, until the above information had been regularly and fully obtained. It was conjectured, that this measure of registering ships was preparatory to the establishment of duties and a custom-house.²

By the *Walker* four iron twelve pounders were received, and information that copper coinage to the amount of £550 was in the *Porpoise*, whose arrival might be daily looked for.³ The circulation of this money would be attended with the most comfortable accommodation to the people in their various dealings with each other; and it might be so marked, as to prevent any inducement to take it out of the colony. If it should ever be found convenient by government to order a silver coinage for the use of the settlement, if it was fixed at not more than half or two thirds of the intrinsic value of what it might pass for, so as to render the loss considerable to any one attempting to carry it away, it would be felt as a considerable advantage, and would

effectually prevent the forgeries to which a paper currency was liable.

With the *Walker* came in the *Britannia* from her last successful cruise, having now completed her cargo of oil. The *Walker* was designed for the whale fishery.

A complaint having been made by some of the inhabitants of the town of Sydney respecting the quality of that very necessary article, the bread that was delivered to them, the governor directed a meeting of officers to assemble for the purpose of investigating it; when it appeared, that the bakers received the wheat as it was issued, engaging to give in lieu a certain quantity of bread; but, not having stipulated as to the quality, returned a loaf in which there was so much more chaff and bran than flour, that the convicts feelingly, and not unaptly, termed them scrubbing brushes. The bakers were heard, and such directions given as were necessary to remove the evil complained of.

The arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson had introduced some alterations and regulations in the corps of which he had now taken the command. Among others, his Majesty having been graciously pleased to augment the pay of the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates of the army, since the 25th day of May 1797, under certain regulations with respect to stoppages, the regiment was now to receive the benefit of such increase of pay. From this, three pence halfpenny per diem was to be deducted, as a payment for the ration which was issued to them, and which the commissary was now directed to serve, agreeable to the ration established by his Majesty's command for such of his troops as were serving in Jamaica, Gibraltar, and New South Wales.

Colonel Paterson having also been instructed to complete the different companies of the corps, if he could obtain a sufficient number of proper characters, a public notice was given, informing such free people as could bring with them recommendations that would satisfy the colonel they were deserving of being taken into his Majesty's service, that they would be received, and attested for the regiment.⁴

The very little attention which had long been, and continued to be shewn to the duties of religion, and the want of that decency and respect which were due to the return of the Sabbath, were now so glaringly conspicuous, that it became necessary to repeat the orders which had indeed often been given upon that subject, and again to call upon every person possessed of authority to use that authority in compelling the due attendance of the convicts at church, and other proper observance of the Sabbath. The women were also directed to be more punctual in their appearance; for these still availed themselves of the indulgence which as women they had been treated with, seldom thinking themselves included in the restrictions that were laid upon others.⁵

The wheat crops, at this time nearly ready for the reaper, wore

the most promising appearance, the stalks every where, particularly at the Hawkesbury, bending beneath the weight of the richest ears of corn ever beheld in this or indeed any other country. But, like other countries, a crop was never to be reckoned in this, until it was gathered into the barn. About the middle of the month there fell a very heavy storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, attended also with a shower of hail from the SE that beat all the fruit off the trees, and destroyed the gardens in and about the town of Sydney, though it was not felt more than two miles from that place. A heavy gale of wind and rain took place at the Hawkesbury the day preceding the storm at Sydney, which laid much of the wheat, and beat down one end of the public store. This destructive weather, having subsided for a day, recommenced on the 20th, and continued without intermission until the 25th, when it again cleared up; and, to increase the vexation, myriads of caterpillars were found destroying the young maize.

That it might be exactly known what was the produce of this year's harvest, proper people were appointed, by order of the governor, to visit each district; and, from the respective owners, to collect an account of what each farm had produced.⁶

The building of the public gaol at Sydney was not yet completed; nor, although a meeting of the officers had been lately held to consider of the means, was any mode devised of defraying the still heavy expense thereof. It had been suggested to raise a fund on the importation of merchandise; but nothing conclusive was yet determined upon.⁷

December.] The *Britannia* whaler having, as was before stated, arrived a full ship, and being again ready for sea, on the 2nd of this month sailed for England. In her, Mr. Raven, who brought out the *Buffalo*, and some of his officers took their passage; and agreement having been made with Mr. Turnbull, the master, to furnish them, six in number, with a passage for the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds.* The *Walker* sailed at the same time on her fishing voyage.

The settlers, being dissatisfied with the reduction in the price of grain which had been ordered, presented petitions to the governor, in which they stated the various hardships that for a considerable time past they had laboured under, in the hope that he might be induced to receive the crops of the present season at the usual price. Having taken their petitions into consideration, he desired them to recollect, that near four years since he had given them notice, that

* Mr. Raven was charged with dispatches; which, from his earnest desire not to lose any time in delivering, he unfortunately lost. When the ship was within sight of the Isle of Wight, he got into a boat, which was captured by a small privateer, and was carried into France with his dispatches, not having had time to sink them. He was soon liberated himself, but was not able to obtain even the private letters that he had with him.

the high price of grain could not be continued longer than that season; and though he had not any doubt of their having sustained the losses which they represented, and they must be sensible he had used every means in his power to remove and relieve their misfortunes; yet his duty to government compelled him to adhere to the reduction of which they complained. At the same time he could not avoid observing, that some of these misfortunes had in many instances proceeded from a want of that attention to their own interest, which every man possessing common discretion would have shewn; many of them having parted with their last bushel for the gratification of the moment, thereby reducing their families to distress and nakedness.⁸

He likewise informed them, that he had much pleasure in finding that government had a serious intention, as early as the public concerns of the nation would admit, of administering every possible relief, by supplying the inhabitants with such necessities and comforts as they might require at a moderate price. He was, however, obliged to direct the commissary to receive the grain of this season at the prices ordered by him in the month of October.

In the evening of the day on which the *Britannia* sailed, the *Plumier*, a Spanish ship, anchored in the cove. She was a prize to three whalers, who had taken her near Cape Corientes, on the coast of Peru. Her cargo consisted chiefly of bad spirits and wine, which, on her being condemned by the Court of Vice-admiralty as a lawful prize, were removed into the *Supply*, and an order was given out, strictly forbidding the landing of any spirits, wine, or even malt liquor, until a regular permit had been first obtained. This restriction upon wine and malt liquor was occasioned by spirituous liquors having been landed under that description.

At length the commissary was enabled to issue some slop-clothing to the convicts, a quantity having been received by the *Walker*; but, unfortunately, much of what had been put on board arrived in a very damaged state, as appeared by a survey which was immediately taken.

On the 14th the *Martha* schooner anchored in the cove from Bass Strait, whence she had brought with her one thousand seal skins and thirty barrels of oil, which had been procured there among the islands.

The court of criminal judicature being assembled on the 16th, two mates of the *Walker* were brought before it, and tried for using menaces to a person who had stopped their boat when attempting to land spirits without a permit; but as he had not any special authority for making the seizure, or detaining the boat, they were acquitted.⁹

One man, John Chapman Morris, was found guilty of forgery by the the same court, and received sentence of death¹⁰; but as this had been determined by the majority of one voice only, whereas the letters

patent for establishing the court expressly say that five of the members are to concur in a capital case, this business must, as provided also by the patent, be referred to the King in council. It was hoped that this circumstance would but seldom occur, as the object of it must, during the reference, remain a prisoner, with all the miserable sensations that a person would experience under sentence of death. The time that he must linger in this uncomfortable situation could not well be less than fifteen or eighteen months; and, admitting that the length of it might have deadened the acuteness of his first sensations, and rendered him thoughtless as to the event, yet how would that acuteness be aggravated, should, unhappily for him, the sentence be at last confirmed by the royal approbation!*

The body of the settlers having again represented their total inability to bear any reduction in the price of the wheat of this season, on account, not only of their former heavy losses, but of the exorbitant price of all those necessities of life which they required for paying their labourers, the governor at length consented to receive the wheat only at the former price of ten shillings per bushel, and they were at the same time told to prepare for the reduction that would certainly take place in the next season.¹¹ He also permitted a certain quantity of wine and spirits from the prize to be landed, for the immediate accommodation of those who had their crops to secure, and to prevent the impositions to which they were subject in being obliged to procure them from a second or third hand.

On the 24th the *Reliance* and *Francis* schooner returned from Norfolk Island, with the relief of the military, having been absent on that service between seven and eight weeks.

About ten o'clock of the night of the same day, the log gaol at Parramatta was wilfully and maliciously set on fire, and totally consumed. The prisoners who were confined were with difficulty snatched from the flames, but so miserably scorched, that one of them died in a few days. This building was a hundred feet in length, remarkably strong, and had been constructed with much labour and expense.

The rewards which had been formerly held out upon similar occasions were now offered to any man or woman who would come forward with evidence sufficient to convict such diabolical incendiaries before the court of criminal judicature; and the inhabitants were called upon by that duty which every man owed to society, as well as to his own individual interest, to use every means in their power to discover the perpetrators of such horrid mischief, which in its extent, involved the lives of their fellow-creatures.¹²

This was the second time such a circumstance had happened in

* It may be pleasing to the reader to learn, that both Isaac Nichols (see page 144) and this man, have recently received his Majesty's pardon.

the settlement, a circumstance that even staggers credulity.¹³ What interest, what motive could drive these wretches to such an action? The destruction of the building, they must know, would be instantly followed by the erection of another, at which they themselves must labour! Could it be for the purpose of throwing obstacles in the way of government: that government, which had ever been mild and not coercive, which had ever stood forward to alleviate their miseries, and often extended the arm of mercy, when their crimes cried aloud for that of punishment? and yet on no other principle can it be accounted for.*

The harvest was now begun, and constables were sent to the Hawkesbury with directions to secure every vagrant they could meet, and bring them to Sydney, unless they chose to work for the settlers, who were willing to pay them a dollar each day and their provisions; for at this time, there were a great number of persons in that district, styling themselves free people, who refused to labour unless they were paid the most exorbitant wages.

The following was the state of the live stock and ground in cultivation in the different districts, as appeared from reports collected at the latter end of the month of August last: viz¹⁴

LIVE STOCK

| Horses | Mares | Horned Cattle | | Hogs | Sheep | | Goats | |
|--------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | | Bulls & Oxen | Cows | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 39 | 72 | 188 | 512 | 3139 | 1846 | 2875 | 842 | 1746 |

LAND IN CULTIVATION

| Acres of Wheat | Acres for Maize | Acres of Barley | Acres of Oats |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 5465 | 2302 | 82 | 8 |

By this account it will appear, that there was a considerable increase of live stock, except in the article of horses, and female goats. A great addition had been also made to the ground in cultivation, the whole amounting at the above period (August) to 7857 acres; making an increase of 1745 acres, in twelve months.

* May the annalist whose business it may be to record in future the transactions of the colony find a pleasanter field to travel in, where his steps will not be every moment beset with murderers, robbers, and incendiaries.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Swallow packet arrives, on her way to China—Articles sold—The Minerva arrives from Ireland with convicts—And the Fhynne from Bengal—Three settlers tried for murdering two natives—Assessment fixed to complete the gaol—February. Military rations—A soldier shoots himself—A whaler from America, with a Spanish vessel, her prize; the Hunter from Calcutta, and the Friendship with Irish convicts, arrive—Inutility of some of these prisoners—Clothing issued—Tax on spirits to complete the gaol—Transactions—A new magazine begun—March—The Reliance sails for England—A mountain eagle shot—The Martha arrives from Bass Strait—Settlers sell their sheep—Flood occasioned by bad weather—April—Criminal court held—The Speedy arrives from England with Lieut. Governor King—The Buffalo from the Cape—Regulations

January 1800.]

ON the third day of this month, the *Swallow*, East-India packet, anchored in the cove, on her voyage to China. She brought information of the capture of the Dutch fleet in the Texel, and the surrender of the forts upon the Helder. This intelligence was announced to the settlement in a public order, and by a discharge of the cannon on the batteries. The *Swallow* on her anchoring saluted the fort, which was returned.

In addition to this welcome news, she had on board a great variety of articles for sale, which were intended for the China market; but the master thought and actually found it worth his while to gratify the inhabitants, particularly the females, with a display of many elegant articles of dress from Bond Street, and other fashionable repositories of the metropolis. She remained here nearly three weeks, taking her departure for China on the 21st.

Previous to her sailing (on the 11th) the *Minerva* transport arrived from Ireland, with a cargo, not of elegancies from Bond Street, but 162 male and 26 female convicts from the gaols of that kingdom: all of whom were in perfect health, their treatment and management on board doing the highest credit to the master, the surgeon, and his officers; three only having died during the passage.¹ She was chartered for Bengal; and, as the season was early for her proceeding upon that voyage, the governor, being desirous of dividing this description of people as much as possible, would have sent her on with them to Norfolk Island; but no provision having been made, as had sometimes been the case, for her proceeding thither under the charter-party, he did not choose to give the sum which the master demanded. And

having learned that another ship, the *Friendship*, had sailed at the same time from Ireland, he determined to land the convicts and wait her arrival.

It was much wished that a clause should be inserted in every charter-party, enabling the governor to send the convicts to Norfolk Island in the ship that brought them out, if he should see occasion; as the difficulty with which they were got together for that purpose, when once landed, was inconceivable.

The *Minerva*, having touched at Rio de Janeiro, had brought many articles for sale, as well from that Port as from England, most of which were much wanted by the inhabitants; but the prices required for them were such as to drain the colony of every shilling that could be got together.

With the *Minerva* arrived the *Fhynne*, a small snow from Bengal, under Danish colours, which had been chartered by the officers of the colony civil and military, through the means of an agent whom they had sent thither for that purpose.² She was freighted on their account with many articles of which they were much in want; and as more labour could be obtained for spirits than for any other mode of payment, an article so essential to the cultivation of their estates was not forgotten.

On the evening of the 18th (which had been observed as the birthday of her Majesty) a convict, in attempting to go alongside the *Minerva*, although repeatedly told to keep off, was shot by the sentinel, who was afterwards tried, and acquitted, having only executed his orders.

The decision of this affair was prompt, and unattended with any doubt or difficulty; but not so was another business that had engaged the attention of the criminal court. The natives having murdered two men who possessed farms at the Hawkesbury, some of the settlers in that district determined to revenge their death.³ There were at this time three native boys living with one Powell, a settler, and two others, his neighbours. These unoffending lads they selected as the objects of their revenge. Having informed them, that they thought they could find the guns belonging to the white men, they were dispatched for that purpose, and in a short time brought them in. Powell and his associates now began their work of vengeance. They drove the boys into a barn, where, after tying their hands behind their backs, these cowardly miscreants repeatedly stabbed them, until two of them fell and died beneath their hands. The third, making his escape, jumped into the river, and, although in swimming he could only make use of his feet, yet under this disadvantage, and with the savage murderers of his companions firing at him repeatedly, he actually reached the opposite bank alive, and soon joined his own people.

The governor, on being made acquainted with this circumstance, immediately sent to the place, where, buried in a garden, the bodies

of these unfortunate boys were found, stabbed in several places, and with their hands tied as has been described. Powell and his companions in this horrid act were taken into custody, and, a court being convened, they were tried for the wilful murder of two natives.⁴

The evidence that was brought before the court clearly established that the deceased had come to their death by the means of the prisoners; and the members of it were unanimously of opinion that they were 'guilty of killing two natives;' but, instead of their receiving a sentence of death, a special reference was made to his Majesty's minister, and the prisoners were admitted to bail by the court.

The prisoners, in their defence, brought forward a crowd of witnesses to prove that a number of white people had at various times been killed by the natives; but, could these people have been sufficiently understood, proofs would not have been wanting on their side, of the wanton and barbarous manner in which many of them had been destroyed.

Entertaining doubts as to the light in which the natives were to be held, the court applied to the governor for such information as he could furnish upon this subject; and he accordingly sent them the orders which from time to time had been given respecting these people, and a copy of an article in his Majesty's instructions to the governor, which in strong and express terms places them under the protection of the British government, and directs, that if any of its subjects should wantonly destroy them, or give them unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, they were to be brought to punishment according to the degree and nature of their offence.⁵

In this instance, however, the court were divided in their sentiments respecting the nature of the offence, and submitted the whole business, with their doubts, to his Majesty's minister.⁶ As they could not see their way distinctly, they certainly were right to apply for assistance; but, as it was impossible to explain to the natives, or cause them to comprehend the nature of these doubts, it was to be expected that they would ill brook the return of the prisoners to their farms and occupations, without having received some punishment: a circumstance wholly inconsistent with their own ideas and customs; and, indeed, they loudly threatened to burn the crops as soon as it could be effected.* Fire, in the hands of a body of irritated and hostile natives, might, with but little trouble to them, ruin the prospect of an abundant harvest; and it appeared by this threat, that they were not ignorant of having this power in their hands; it was, therefore, certainly very essential to the comfort and security of the settlers in particular, that they should live with them upon amicable terms.

Towards the latter end of the month, the *Walker* whaler came

* Fortunately, though greatly incensed, they did not put this threat in execution.

in from sea, not having met with any success, though cruising in the height of the summer season. She had spoke the *Albion*, which, though out a longer time, had been equally unsuccessful.

The public gaol at Sydney still wanting much of its completion, from the insufficiency of the sums which had been raised to carry it on; and it appearing that most of the officers had already paid to the amount of forty pounds each as an individual share of the expense, it became indispensably requisite that some means should be immediately adopted to finish the building; and, as the price of wheat had, at the urgent and repeated solicitation of the settlers, been for this season continued at ten shillings per bushel, it was proposed to raise a sum for this purpose, by each person leaving in the hands of the commissary sixpence for every bushel of wheat they should put into the store. This contribution would be the least felt, and was to cease so soon as a sum sufficient for the purpose was collected.

There not being at this time more than five months' provision in the store at full allowance, it became necessary to issue only two-thirds of the weekly ration; and this was ordered to commence on the first of the ensuing month. A trifling addition was made to the quantity in store, by the purchase of about seventy casks of salt provisions which the master of the *Minerva* had for sale.

The *Francis* and the *Norfolk* brought round from the river⁷ a quantity of timber and plank for the vessel that was building at Sydney, and for other purposes.

February.] On the first of the month the proposed alteration in the ration took place. It has been said, that Colonel Paterson brought out with him a new arrangement of the military ration. This, as directed by his Majesty's regulation, consisted of

| | | |
|------------------|--------|---------------------|
| Flour or bread | 1½ lb | } per man per diem. |
| Beef | 1 lb | |
| or | | |
| Pork | ½ lb | |
| Peas | ¼ pint | |
| Butter or Cheese | 1 oz | } |
| Rice | 1 oz | |

When the small species cannot be issued, 1½ lb of bread or flour, and 1½ lb of beef, or 10 oz of pork, make a complete ration. The quantity of salt provisions at this time remaining in the store, not admitting of exempting the regiment from a reduction of the ration, they were informed that, until the store could afford to victual them again agreeable to the regulation, they would receive the same ration as the civil department; but that no stoppages from their pay would on that account take place.

One of these people, a quiet well-disposed young man, fell a victim to an attachment which he had formed with an infamous woman; who, after plundering him of every thing valuable that he possessed, turned him out of the house, to make room for another. This treatment he could not live under; and, placing the muzzle of his gun beneath his chin, he drew the trigger with his foot, and, the contents going through his neck, instantly expired.

On the 13th, the *Betsey* whaler arrived from the west coast of America with 350 barrels of oil. She was extremely leaky, and much in want of repair. At the same time came in the *Hunter* bark from Calcutta, with a cargo on speculation; and on the day following, a Spanish brig which had been captured by the whaler.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the *Friendship* transport arrived from Ireland with convicts. She had been fifty days in her passage from the Cape of Good Hope, where she left his Majesty's ship *Buffalo* taking on board cattle for the settlement. The convicts arrived in very good health, though the ship had been sickly previous to her reaching the Cape.

Many of the prisoners received by this ship and the *Minerva* were not calculated to be of much advantage to the settlement; and but little addition was made by their arrival to the public strength. Several of them had been bred up in the habits of genteel life, or to professions in which they were unaccustomed to hard labour. Such must become a dead weight upon the provision store; for, notwithstanding the abhorrence which must have been felt for the crimes for which many of them were transported, yet it was impossible to divest the mind of the common feelings of humanity, so far as to send a physician, the once respectable sheriff of a county, a Roman Catholic priest, or a Protestant clergyman and family, to the grubbing hoe, or the timber carriage.⁸ Among the lower classes were many old men, unfit for any thing but to be hut-keepers, who were to remain at home to prevent robbery, while the other inhabitants of the hut were at labour.

Some clothing had been received by these ships and the *Walker*, but, unfortunately, not any bedding. The governor therefore purchased a thousand bad rugs, which had been manufactured in some of the Spanish settlements on the west coast of America, and were in the prize which last arrived. These, with a complete suit of the clothing to each, were now issued to the convicts.

The settlers of several of the districts declining to come forward to assist with the small assessment of sixpence per bushel on their wheat, which had been proposed toward the completion of the public gaol, it became necessary to adopt some other expedient; and, as an article of luxury was considered a fitter subject than any other for taxation, an order was published, directing, that on a permit being applied for to land spirits, wine, beer, or other strong drink, from ships having those articles for sale, the person desiring it was to make

his first application to the gentlemen of the committee appointed to carry on the above building; to whom security was to be given for the payment of one shilling per gallon on the purchase of spirits, sixpence per gallon on the purchase of wine, and threepence per gallon on the purchase of porter or strong beer; these sums, if the permits were granted, which depended on the character of the person applying, were to be paid into the hands of the committee, and appropriated to the above purpose.⁹

It having been for some time observed, indeed more particularly since the late arrivals from Ireland, that a number of idle and suspicious persons were frequently strolling about the town of Sydney at improper hours of the night, and several boats having been taken away, and much property stolen out of houses; in order to put a stop to such practices, the sentinels on duty were directed not to suffer any person, the civil and military officers of the settlement excepted, to pass their posts after ten o'clock at night, without they could give the counter-sign; in which case the sentinel was to detain them until the relief came round; when, if the corporal should not be satisfied with the account which they might give, they were to be taken to the guard-house, and there detained, until released by proper authority. The patrol of constables were also directed to be very strict in their rounds, and apprehend such improper or suspicious persons as they might meet in the town during the night.¹⁰

Shortly after the publication of this order, several of the Irish prisoners having assembled at a private house, and making more noise than was proper during the night, were taken up, and lodged in the gaol until the morning; when they were liberated with assurances of being punished if brought there a second time.

Among other public and necessary works which were in hand at this time, must be noticed the construction of a new powder magazine. The former building had been placed at too great a distance from the principal battery, in a dangerous and insecure situation. The foundation of the new one was now dug in a more eligible spot, and where it could be much better secured; which had been rendered necessary from the turbulent disposition of the people lately arrived from Ireland.

March.] His Majesty's ship the *Reliance* being completely worn out, and no longer capable of rendering any service to the settlement, it became necessary to give her such repairs as would enable her to reach England. In order, therefore, to ease the crown of such useless expense, she was fitted for sea, and sailed on the 3rd of this month on her homeward-bound voyage.*

* The *Reliance* touched at the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of St. Helena, whence she brought some Indiamen safe home under her convoy. She arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of August, 1800. Nothing remarkable occurred during the voyage, except the discovery of an island, which, from its approach to the

Captain Waterhouse, in an excursion which he made to the north arm of Broken Bay, wounded and secured a bird, of a species never seen before in New South Wales, at least by any of the colonists. It was a large eagle, which gave a proof of his strength, by driving his talons through a man's foot, while lying in the bottom of the boat, with his legs tied together. It stood about three feet in height, and during the ten days that it lived was remarkable for refusing to be fed by any but one particular person. Among the natives it was an object of wonder and fear, as they could never be prevailed upon to go near it. They asserted, that it would carry off a middling-sized kangaroo. Captain Waterhouse hoped to have brought it to England; but it was one morning found to have divided the strands of a rope with which it was fastened, and escaped. A drawing had been made of it while in our hands, of which the annexed engraving is a copy.

The *Martha* schooner, having some time back sailed again to the southward, returned on the 6th with a cargo of oil and seal skins. The *Nautilus* having left some of her people upon Cape Barren Island, it appeared by their accounts, that the most productive time for the seals among those islands was from November to May. They stated, that they had much fine weather during the winter months, and met with very little frost or severe cold. Cape Barren is in $40^{\circ} 26' 20''$ S latitude.

About this time many of the Irish prisoners lately arrived were afflicted with dysenteric complaints, of which several died.

Much has been said of the little indulgence to which some of the settlers were, from their own misconduct, entitled. An instance of misbehaviour occurred in a description of these people from whom it could scarcely have been expected. The settlers who were fixed on the banks of George's river had formerly served in the marine detachment, and afterwards in the New South Wales' corps. By their entreaties having prevailed upon the governor to supply them with some live stock, they were furnished each with a ewe sheep, of which they were no sooner possessed than they sold them. This coming to the governor's knowledge, he directed them to be seized, and instantly returned into the flock belonging to government. Such conduct on

Antipodes of London, Captain Waterhouse named Penantipode Island. He determined its latitude by one double altitude, and chronometer, to be $49^{\circ} 49' 30''$ S and its longitude, $179^{\circ} 20'$ E. It was seen in the middle of the night; and as the nearest of the double altitudes by which its latitude was determined was nearly an hour past noon, hence, and from the change of place in the interval of four hours, the latitude ought not to be depended on nearer than from $5'$ to $10'$. The error of the chronometer being uncertain at the time, no correction was applied to the longitude, which may very probably be within half a degree, or much nearer. When this island was seen, it was blowing a gale of wind. There were seals on it, and it did not appear quite so large as Norfolk Island.

their part certainly precluded them from ever soliciting similar assistance again.

Accounts of a most alarming nature were received toward the latter end of the month from George's river and the Hawkesbury. The weather had, unfortunately for the maize now ripe, been uncommonly bad for three weeks, the wind blowing a heavy gale, accompanied with torrents of rain that very soon swelled the river Hawkesbury, and the creeks in George's river, beyond their banks; laying all the adjacent flat country, with the corn on it, under water. Much damage, of course, followed the desolation which this ill-timed flood spread over the cultivated grounds; and, although fewer than could have been expected, some lives were lost.¹¹

The prospect of an abundant maize harvest was wholly destroyed, and every other work was suspended for a while, to prepare the ground a second time this season for wheat. The settlement was yet too young to be able to withstand such a succession of ill-fortune without its being felt, in some degree, an inconvenience and expense to the mother country. Had the settlers themselves in general been of a more industrious turn, they would have been better prepared for such accidents; and it was much to be lamented, that, in establishing them on the banks of the Hawkesbury, they had not with more attention considered the manifest signs of the floods to which the river appeared to the first discoverers to be liable, and erected their dwellings upon the higher grounds; or that the inundations which had lately happened had not occurred at an earlier period, when there were but few settlers. These indeed had been such as formerly no one had any conception of, and exceeded in horror and destruction any thing that could have been imagined.

That the ground might with all possible expedition be prepared for wheat, all descriptions of persons were called upon to give their assistance; and there being at this, as at every other time, a number of idle persons wandering about the colony, who refused to labour unless they were paid exorbitant wages¹², these were again directed to be taken up, and, if found to prefer living by extortion or robbery, to working at a reasonable hire, to be treated as vagrants, and made to labour for the public.

During this month, the *Walker* went to sea upon the fishery; and the *Martha* snow went to Norfolk Island, with some articles for sale, the property of her owners.

April.] On the first day of this month, the court of criminal judicature was convened for the trial of several offenders. Robberies had of late been very frequent, both on household property and live stock. At this court, two men were found guilty of robbery, and one women, Mary Graham, of forgery. Several were sentenced to receive corporal punishment, and some were ordered to be transported to Norfolk

MOUNTAIN EAGLE of NEW SOUTH WALES
will kill a large sized Kangaroo.



1256. only 35. 1890.

Island.¹³ The governor extended his Majesty's pardon to the woman and one of the men, leaving the other to his fate, and the day was appointed for his execution; but, the military officers soliciting in a body that the life of this man should be spared, the governor consented. He however directed that both the prisoners, being yet unacquainted with the pardon that was to be granted them, should be taken to the place of execution with their coffins, where the warrant for that execution should be read, and every appearance observed that could give solemnity to the moment, and impress the minds of the spectators with awe. These directions were followed. The ropes being put about their necks, the provost marshal produced the pardon and read it. One of the men appeared much affected; but the other declared that he was never in his life so well prepared for death, and scarcely seemed to desire a prolongation of existence.

On the 14th the *Hunter* bark sailed for Norfolk Island, whence she was supposed to be bound for Amboyna and Bengal; and on the 16th the *Speedy* whaler arrived from England, with fifty female convicts; and, what were much more welcome and profitable, eight hundred and thirty-two casks of salt provisions, which enabled the governor once more to issue a full ration.

In this ship arrived Captain Phillip Gidley King, the lieutenant-governor of Norfolk Island; and those marks of respect which were due to his rank and situation as a lieutenant-governor were directed to be paid to him by all guards, sentinels, etc.¹⁴

On the evening of the same day, his Majesty's ship the *Buffalo* returned from the Cape of Good Hope, having on board 85 cows and 20 breeding mares for the settlement. This voyage was performed in seven months, the *Buffalo* having sailed from Port Jackson on the 15th of last September. She made her passage thither in three months, having arrived in Table Bay on the 16th of December. This, therefore, will be found to be the proper season for going to the Cape by the way of Cape Horn.

The quantity of spirits at this time in the colony occasioned much intoxication and consequent irregularity. The settlers at the river were so lost to their own interest as to neglect the sowing of their grounds: a circumstance which, but for the timely interference of the governor, would have ended in their ruin. Immediately on hearing their situation, he forbade the sending any more spirits to that profligate corner of the colony, as well as the retailing what had been already sent thither, under pain of the offenders being prosecuted for such disobedience of his orders.

CHAPTER XXIV

Reports of seditious meetings among the Irish convicts—The Friendship sails for Bengal—Letter from Lord Mornington respecting persons resident at Bengal formerly in this colony—Correspondence relative to Indian convicts, and persons at Calcutta wishing to become settlers in New South Wales—Orders—Criminal court held—June two men hanged for sheep-stealing—The Hunter sails with Major Foveaux for Norfolk Island—The Buffalo ordered for sea—Public gaol—July. Three men executed—General muster—Cattle purchased—The Martha driven on shore—August. Survey of public stores—Spirits landed and seized—Death of Wilson—September. Rumours of insurrection—Volunteer corps—Coal found—The John Jay arrives—The Governor quits the settlement—Live stock, etc—October—The Buffalo sails for England—Touches at Norfolk Island

May.]

THE governor having received information from several of the officers, that they had good grounds for suspecting that some of the convicts lately arrived from Ireland had not left behind them the principles which occasioned their being sent from that kingdom, but were carrying on seditious correspondences, and holding unlawful meetings; in order to discover whether there was any foundation for this conjecture, he called in the assistance of Lieutenant-Governor King, Colonel Paterson, Major Foveaux, and the several magistrates of the district; when it was determined to make a sudden and general search among the persons suspected in all parts of the colony at one and the same hour, and to secure their papers and seal them up.

This was put in execution upon the 15th; but nothing was found in their several dwellings which could furnish the smallest suspicion of the conduct imputed to them.

On the following day, a convict, who had endeavoured with some earnestness to propagate a report that many pikes had been fabricated, and, to prevent discovery, had been sunk in a particular part of the harbour, was examined before some of the magistrates; when he confessed that he knew nothing of what he had asserted; saying, that he was intoxicated at the time. He was severely punished for his design, which perhaps he chose rather to endure, than impeach his confederates.

From the secrecy with which this business might be conducted, the magistrates succeeded no better in an examination which was taken before them, on an information that Harold, the Roman Catholic priest, had been concerned in some seditious conversations; nothing appearing

whereby he could be criminated. The governor, however, judged it necessary, in consequence of these conjectures, to extract the heads of the late acts against seditious correspondence or unlawful assemblies of the people, altering them to meet the situation of the settlement, and published them in the form of a proclamation, that none might plead ignorance of the existence of such laws. This proclamation, beside being made public in the usual manner, was read on Sunday the 24th, in church, after the performance of divine service.

The *Friendship* having sailed early in the month for Bengal, that opportunity was taken of sending dispatches to England, and to the Governor-General of India; who, by the *Hunter*, had sent a letter to the governor, inclosing a list of persons from New South Wales who were then resident in Calcutta, and desiring to be informed whether any of them had left the territory without having previously obtained permission for that purpose, or served the regular term of their transportation; in which latter case, it was the intention of that government to return them to the colony by the first opportunity. On comparing the list with the colonial books, there were not any found of this description, and all were accounted for, except two or three names which did not appear in the books; and of course, as they had once been on them, their owners must have adopted others, with the new character that they were going to assume in that country. The whole number of persons that appeared to have established themselves at Calcutta was not more than fifteen; nevertheless, small as that number was, the fear that worthless characters should find their way into that government was strongly expressed in their public letter. Indeed, what community, where honesty and morality were cultivated, would not deprecate even the possibility of such characters mixing with them, with as much earnestness as a people in health would dread the importation of a plague or a yellow fever!

It appeared, that at the same time some propositions had been made, and a correspondence entered into between the secretary of the Bengal government and the gentleman who had been employed as the private agent of the officers of the settlement, respecting the transportation of Indian convicts to New South Wales.¹ As this was a measure, though open to no objection whatever, which must be submitted to administration before it could be adopted, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion was sent home. It was proposed by the government of Bengal to victual and maintain their convicts for one year after their landing; after which they were to be supported by the settlement. As such a description of people might be very usefully employed there, and would be far more manageable than the convicts from England or Ireland, it was hoped that the plan might meet the approbation of his Majesty's ministers.

It should seem that some favourable ideas of the settlement had

obtained in India; for by the same conveyance three gentlemen of respectability addressed the governor, stating to him their desire of embarking their families and property, and becoming settlers; but as they required a ship to be sent for them, to be furnished with a certain number of convicts for a limited time, and a quantity of live stock, all of which must be attended with a considerable expense to the crown, the governor, though well aware of the advantages which the colony would derive from having such persons resident among them, found himself compelled to lay their proposals before the secretary of state.²

To put a stop, if possible, to the encouragement which was given by settlers and others to the vagrants who infested the different districts; it was ordered, that when any one wished to travel from one place to another, he was to apply to a magistrate for a pass, in which the business he was going on was to be inserted; and all persons found without this written permission were to be taken before a magistrate to answer for their wilful disobedience of the regulations of the settlement.³

Application having been made to the commissary to receive fresh pork into the public stores, he was directed to comply therewith; but there was reason to believe that such compliance would be attended with the indiscriminate destruction of breeding and young sows. It was therefore ordered, that if any person should be known to offer any meat of that description to the store, it was not to be received; and the owner was to be informed against, as being no longer deserving of encouragement or any indulgence whatever.

The criminal court of judicature was assembled on the 26th of the month, and continued sitting by adjournment for three days; whereat six prisoners were capitally convicted, two of whom were condemned for sheep-stealing. As it was absolutely necessary to make some examples, these men were ordered for execution; the others were pardoned, upon condition of being transported for life to Norfolk Island.⁴

In the course of this month died Mr. John Livingstone, the master carpenter at Parramatta. This person came out from England in the *Sirius* with Governor Phillip, and had rendered much essential service to the colony in the line of his profession. He had long been of a consumptive habit.

The principal labour of the month consisted in preparing for wheat the ground that the inundation had devastated.

June.] The month opened with the execution of one of the prisoners condemned for sheep-stealing. He suffered on the 2nd, and on the 8th his companion in iniquity and wretchedness underwent the same punishment. At the moment of his execution he gave information of a daring gang of villains with whom he had been connected.

His Majesty's birthday was observed by a discharge of all the artillery in the settlement, and three vollies from the regiment upon their parade.

On the 8th, the owners of the *Hunter* bark having altered her destination, she returned from Norfolk Island, and was immediately chartered to take thither an officer and a few soldiers, together with some convicts and stores.

The *Belle Sauvage*, an American ship from Rhode Island, which had anchored for a few days in Neutral Bay, to refit, and refresh her crew, sailed again on the 15th, without taking any person from the settlement.⁵ As this port was conveniently situated for these ships to stop at and refresh after the long voyages which they were in the habit of making in their route to China, or the north-west coast of America, it certainly was to the interest of the masters and their respective owners not to infringe upon any of the local regulations of the colony.

The number of robbers and sheep-stealers still increasing notwithstanding the late executions, it was deemed necessary to pursue some other steps to get the better of this evil; and a proclamation was read in church on Sunday the 15th, preparatory to issuing a process of outlawry against these public depredators, whom all persons were commanded to aid and assist in securing.

In consequence of this proclamation, three men were taken up, and, being tried and found guilty of sheep-stealing, received sentence of death.

On the 29th, the *Hunter* sailed for Norfolk Island, having on board Major Foveaux of the New South Wales corps, who was proceeding thither to take the command of that settlement.⁶ At the same time were sent those prisoners who had been sentenced thither for transportation, and some soldiers to augment the detachment of the regiment on duty there.

The governor having, by the arrival of the *Speedy* in April last received a letter from the secretary of state, he gave directions for preparing his Majesty's ship *Buffalo* for sea; which was accordingly begun; and various accounts were ordered to be made out preparatory to their being forwarded to England.

Information having been laid before the governor by the officers who were appointed a committee for superintending the erection of the public gaol at Sydney, that several persons had resisted the payment of the necessary assessments which had been ordered to defray the expenses of the building; it was ordered, that those assessments should be immediately paid into the hands of the persons directed to collect them, or, in case of a further refusal to a measure which had been entered upon at a general meeting of the landholders, etc. in the colony, such steps as should be adjudged necessary would be instantly pursued. Such being the conduct of these people, even in a measure

where their own personal interests were so essentially concerned, can it be wondered at, that so much profligacy prevailed in every part of the settlement?

July.] The prisoners who were left for execution at the end of the last month suffered death, two of them at Sydney on the 3rd and the third at Parramatta on the 5th of this month. If examples of this kind could strike terror into the minds of the spectators, they certainly had not lately been without these salutary though dreadful lessons.

A general muster was taken, during the month, of the inhabitants of the several districts, attended by Lieutenant-Governor King, and other officers of the settlement; and the *Buffalo* dropped down the harbour, that she might with more ease prepare for her voyage; as it was impossible, without having recourse to punishment, to keep the people to their duty on board while lying in the midst of temptation in Sydney Cove.

Several gentlemen being now preparing to return to England, having obtained the governor's permission for that purpose; much live stock was sold, and a considerable addition was made to that belonging to the crown by the purchase of some of the large horned cattle.

The *Martha*, having been allowed to go to Hunter river for coals in the beginning of the month, on her return, having anchored in some very bad weather in the north part of the harbour, Little Manly Bay, was by the parting of her cable driven on a reef of rocks, where her bottom was beat out. With the assistance of the officers and crew of the *Buffalo*, she was got off, and, being floated with casks, was brought up to Sydney, where her damages were found not to be irreparable.

By the master's account it appeared, that he had not been in the river, but in a salt water inlet, about five leagues to the southward of the river, having a small island at its entrance. He was conducted by some natives to a spot at a small distance from the mouth, where he found abundance of coal.

Several certificates were granted during this month, to persons who had served their terms of transportation; and, in order to concentrate as much as possible the effective strength of the New South Wales corps (which appeared to be necessary from the turbulent disposition of the Irish prisoners), the presence of an officer was dispensed with at the Hawkesbury. Mr. Charles Grimes, the deputy surveyor, was appointed to reside there, and to take upon him the duties of a justice of the peace.⁷

August.] Early in this month, the *Albion* whaler ran into Broken Bay, to complete her wood and water. She had on board 600 barrels of oil; but had not been able, through bad weather, to secure more than a fourth part of the whales which they had killed. They had seen an immense number of these fish.

A survey was at this time taking of the public stores and provisions, in order to their being delivered over to the deputy commissary, as Mr. Williamson, the acting commissary, was about to return in the *Buffalo* to England.

Toward the latter end of the month, an attempt was made, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to land without a permit 1016 gallons of wine and spirits, which were seized at the wharf by the sentinel. If the person who made this attempt had been advised to so incautious and daring a proceeding, it could only have been with a view to try the integrity of the sentinels, or the vigilance of the police.

In defiance of the various orders which had been given to enforce a due attendance on Sunday at divine service, that day still continued to be marked by a neglect of its sacred duties. An order was again given out on the 25th, pointing out the duties of the superintendants, constables, and overseers, in this particular instance; and assuring them that a further neglect on their part would be followed by their dismissal from their respective situations.

Information had some time before this been received of the death of Wilson, known among the natives by the name of Bun-bo-è. This young man, while a convict, and after he had served the period of his transportation, preferred the life of a vagabond to that of an industrious man. He had passed the greater part of his time in the woods with the natives, and was suspected of instructing them in those points where they could injure the settlers with the greatest effect, and most safety to themselves. In obedience, however, to a proclamation from the governor, he surrendered himself, and promising amendment, as nothing but a love of idleness could be fixed upon him, was forgiven; and, being supplied with a musket and ammunition, he was allowed to accompany such parties as made excursions into the woods, and at other times to shoot kangaroos and birds. By him, the first bird of paradise ever seen in this country had been shot⁸; and it was his custom to live upon the flesh of such birds as he killed, bringing in with him their skins.

With the wood natives he had sufficient influence to persuade them that he had once been a black man, and pointed out a very old woman as his mother, who was weak and credulous enough to acknowledge him as her son. The natives who inhabit the woods are not by any means so acute as those who live upon the sea coast. This difference may perhaps be accounted for by their sequestered manner of living, society contributing much to the exercise of the mental faculties. Wilson presumed upon this mental inability; and, having imposed himself upon them as their countryman, and created a fear and respect of his superior powers, indulged himself in taking liberties with their young females. However deficient they might be in reasoning faculties, he found to his cost that they were susceptible of wrongs; for, having appropriated

against her inclinations a female to his own exclusive accommodation, her friends took an opportunity, when he was not in a condition to defend himself, to drive a spear through his body, which ended his career for this time, and left them to expect his return at some future period in the shape of another white man.

By a reference to the first volume of this work, it will be seen, that the natives who inhabited Port Stephens, a harbour to the northward of the settlement, entertained a similar idea of four white men who had been thrown by chance among them; and Wilson, having heard the circumstance, endeavoured to avail himself of it in his intercourse with the wood natives.

The natives of the coast, whenever speaking of those of the interior, constantly expressed themselves with contempt and marks of disapprobation. Their language was unknown to each other, and there was not any doubt of their living in a state of mutual distrust and enmity. Those natives, indeed, who frequented the town of Sydney, spoke to and of those who were not so fortunate, in a very superior tone, valuing themselves upon their friendship with the white people, and erecting in themselves an exclusive right to the enjoyment of all the benefits which were to result from that friendship. That they should prefer the shelter which they found in the houses of the inhabitants to the miserable protection from weather which their ill-constructed huts afforded, or even to that which they could meet with under a rock, will be allowed to have been natural enough, when we present the reader with a view of a man, his wife, and child, actually sketched on the spot, by a person who met with them thus endeavouring

*W. Alexander del.**J. Powell, sculp.*

to obtain shelter under a projection of a rock, during a heavy storm of rain and wind.

September.] In the beginning of this month, rumours being circulated, that the prisoners lately sent from Ireland for the crime of sedition, and for being concerned in the late rebellion in that country, had formed a plan for possessing themselves of the colony, that their arms (pikes manufactured since their arrival) were in great forwardness, and their manner of attack nearly arranged; a committee of officers was appointed by the governor to examine all suspected persons, and ascertain whether any such murderous design existed.⁹

In the course of their inquiries, the committee saw occasion to imprison Harold, the Roman Catholic priest, who from his language and behaviour was suspected of being concerned in the intended insurrection. He then confessed, that the reports of it were founded in truth, and engaged to discover where the weapons were concealed, of which it was said many hundreds had been fabricated. In his confession he implicated several of his countrymen, who, on being questioned, in their turn accused several others; and the committee adjudged them all to be deserving of punishment; but Harold was never able to fulfil his engagement of producing the weapons. These he first said were buried in the ground belonging to a settler, which he pointed out; but on minutely searching every part of it, nothing like a pike could be found. Failing in this, he then said they were sunk in the lower part of the harbour; but even here they could not be discovered. He tampered with an Irishman, to make a few that he could produce in support of his assertion; but the man had, unfortunately for him, been transported for having been a dealer in pikes, and declared that he would not involve himself a second time for them. He at last found a man to fabricate one out of an old hinge of a barn door, but this bore too evidently the marks of imposition to go down with every one; and his tale met with little or no credit. There was evidently a design to create an alarm; and this man Harold, from declaring that he alone, through his influence as their priest, was able to come at the facts, was supposed to be aiming solely at making himself of consequence in the colony. He had applied to the governor for permission to officiate as their priest; and if well affected to the government, of which there were but too many doubts, he might have been of much use to the colony in that capacity.

In consequence of these alarms, and as much as possible to do away their effects, by increasing the armed force of the colony, a certain number of the most respectable inhabitants were formed into two volunteer associations of fifty men each, and styled the Sydney and Parramatta Loyal Associated Corps. Each was commanded by a Captain, with two Lieutenants, and a proportionate number of non-commissioned officers. The whole were supplied with arms and ammunition, of which

they were instructed in the use by some sergeants of the New South Wales corps, and their alarm-post was fixed at the front of Government House.*¹⁰

It having been reported, that coal had been found upon the banks of George's river, the governor visited the place, and on examination found many indications of the existence of coal, that useful fossil, of which, shortly after, a vein was discovered on the west-side of Garden Island cove.

On the 21st, the American ship *John Jay* arrived, after a passage of four months and four days, from Rhode Island, bound to China. She had on board a quantity of salt beef and pork, which was purchased by government, at the rate of seven-pence three farthings per pound, for the purpose of issuing to such people as were off the stores, or who had the labour of convicts assigned to them, at the same price. This was a great accommodation.

The *Buffalo* being now ready for sea, the governor, who had determined to return in that ship to England, having arranged various matters relative to the settlement, and the lieutenant governor of Norfolk Island being on the spot, left the direction of the colony in his hands, and embarked on Sunday the 28th, having previously reviewed the New South Wales corps, of whom his excellency took leave in the following order:¹¹

The governor, having this day reviewed that part of His Majesty's New South Wales corps doing duty at Sydney, cannot omit this opportunity of expressing the satisfaction he has received from their very handsome and military appearance, which does so much honour to Lieutenant Colonel Paterson, and the commissioned officers under his command. The expertness with which the various military motions were performed is highly to the credit of the whole body, and in which the non-commissioned officers have a very distinguished share. The governor cannot lose the present opportunity (as it may possibly be the last) of assuring the troops generally, that the confidence which he has long reposed in their promptitude upon every occasion that might require their particular exertion, has ever inclined him to consider with contempt the threatnings said to have been held out by a number of discontented and misled people: well satisfied that the active assistance of the New South Wales corps, added to those precautions and exertions which have and he trusts will continue to distinguish the civil power, will ever be found a complete security for the peace and tranquillity of this settlement, and of

* As these were formed upon the footing of the volunteer corps in England, it is to be wished that they may as fully entitle themselves to the praise and thanks of the community which they were raised to defend, as those honourable associations have merited and gained from theirs.

His Majesty's government in this remote part of the British dominions.¹²

The governor's embarkation was attended with every mark of respect, attachment, and regret. The road to the wharf, where the *Buffalo's* boat was in waiting, was lined on each side with troops, and he was accompanied thither by the officers of the civil and military departments with a numerous concourse of the inhabitants; who manifested by their deportment the sense they entertained of the regard which he had ever paid to their interests, and the justice and humanity of his government.

The following was the state of the live stock, and ground in cultivation, at the time of the governor's departure: viz¹³

LIVE STOCK

| Horses | Mares | Horned Cattle | | Hogs | Sheep | | Goats | |
|--------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | | Bulls & Oxen | Cows | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 60 | 143 | 332 | 712 | 4017 | 2031 | 4093 | 727 | 1455 |

LAND IN CULTIVATION

| Acres of Wheat | Acres for Maize | Acres of Barley |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 4665¾ | 2930 | 82 |

And a considerable quantity of garden ground, in potatoes, etc and vines.

The poverty of the settlers and the high price of labour occasioned much land to be unemployed this year. Many of the inferior farmers were nearly ruined by the high price they were obliged to give for such necessaries as they required from those who had been long in the habit of monopolising every article brought to the settlement for sale; a habit of which it was found impossible to get the better, without the positive and immediate interference of the government at home.¹⁴

Many representations had been made on this distressing subject¹⁵; and they seemed in some degree to have been attended to, as in several of the last arrivals from England, certain articles, consisting of implements of husbandry, clothing, and stores, had been consigned to the governor, to be retailed for the use of the colonists: and it



Emu of New South Wales.

was understood that this system, so beneficial to the settlement, was to be pursued in all the ships which were in future to carry out convicts or stores to that country.¹⁶

October.] The *Buffalo* sailed for England on the 21st of October*, and as the governor had intended to touch and land at Norfolk Island, for the purpose of learning, from his own observation, something of the state of that settlement, some few of the Irish prisoners, who were suspected of laying plans of insurrection and massacre, were taken in the *Buffalo*, and landed there. This settlement wore a most unpromising appearance. All the buildings were in a state of rapid decay, and but few symptoms of industry were visible. Of stock, only a few hogs and a small quantity of vegetables were to be procured. On Phillip Island, which had formerly fed a great number of hogs, not one was to be found alive, they having, for want of better food, destroyed each other. A few fields of wheat, which were ready for

* The *Buffalo* arrived at Spithead, with a convoy which she brought from St. Helena, on the 24th of May 1801, having made the passage by Cape Horn in seven months.

reaping, looked tolerably well; but on the whole Norfolk Island by no means promised to repay the expense which it annually cost the government.

On board of the *Buffalo* were two of the birds denominated by Dampier black-swans, and three of those which in New South Wales were styled emus. However much in shape the former resembled the European swan, yet, as they are of a different species, they are not properly entitled to the appellation of swan, that name being appropriate solely to the European species. These birds had with very great care been brought alive to England, and were given by Lieutenant William Kent, the proprietor, to Earl St. Vincent, who presented them as 'raræ aves,' and literally 'nigro simillimæ cygno' to her Majesty, by whom they were sent to Frogmore. They were of different sexes; but unfortunately one of them soon died in moulting; and the other having, after that operation, with his health, also recovered the perfect use of his wings, availed himself of the liberty they gave him (the precaution of cutting them not having been taken), and was shot by a nobleman's game-keeper as it was flying across the Thames.

The other birds were given by the same gentleman to Sir Joseph Banks; and they are now enjoying their freedom in the Earl of Exeter's park at Burleigh. These birds have been pronounced by Sir Joseph Banks, of whose judgment none can entertain a doubt, to come nearer to what is known of the American ostrich, than to either the emu of India, or the ostrich of Africa. [The subjoined engraving is from a drawing made in New South Wales, and shows the height to which they can erect themselves.]

CONCLUSION

THE documents upon which the foregoing pages have been formed going no farther than the departure of the *Buffalo* for England, we must here quit the regular detail of the transactions of the colony.

We learn from those who have conversed on the concerns of the settlement with governor Hunter since his return, that he possesses the most minute acquaintance with all its regulations, whether commercial, agricultural, or legal. On those particular subjects, we understand he had from time to time afforded the most ample information to government; and, as he is now upon the spot, we hope that he may be able to shew the advantages which this distant colony will derive from a more frequent intercourse with the mother-country. It must be gratifying to all who may be in any way acquainted with the settlement, and are not strangers to the misfortunes under which it has sometimes suffered, to find at this time in government a determination to shew it a greater degree of attention in future, than, from unavoidable circumstances, it could formerly boast.

As notice has not been regularly taken of the public works in hand at the close of each month, as was observed in the preceding volume, a view of the whole that had been undertaken during Governor Hunter's administrations of the affairs of the settlement, is annexed.¹

A large brick building which had been erected by Governor Phillip at Parramatta, 100 feet in length, being much decayed, was completely repaired; two floors laid throughout; and an addition of 60 feet made to it, for the purpose of converting it into a granary for the reception of wheat; there not being any building for this use in the colony.

A strong wind-mill tower of stone, erected upon the hill above the town of Sydney. The mill completed and set at work.

An entire suite of apartments built of brick at Sydney, between the hospitals and the dwelling-house of the principal surgeon, for the use of the two assistant-surgeons; their former wretched huts having gone to decay.

A strong double logged gaol, 80 feet long, with separate cells for prisoners, was constructed at Sydney. This building was burnt.

A similar gaol was erected at Parramatta, 100 feet in length, and paled round with a strong high fence, as was that at Sydney. This was also destroyed by fire.²

Two log granaries, each 100 feet long, one for wheat and another for maize, were erected at the Hawkesbury on a spot named the Green Hills, and enclosed with paling.

Thoroughly repaired, coated with lime (manufactured from burnt

CONCLUSION

shells), and white-washed both government houses, the military barracks, officers' dwellings, store-houses, and granaries, and all the public buildings, to preserve them from the decay to which they were rapidly advancing.

The government huts at Parramatta, which had been built by Governor Phillip for the immediate reception of convicts on their arrival, having been long neglected and disused, and fallen to ruin, were completely repaired and made fit for the use for which they were designed. Many had fallen down.

A barn of 90 feet in length was built at Toongabbie, in which nine pair of threshers could work. The original barn at this place built by Governor Phillip had fallen down.

Constructed eight embrasures to the battery on point Maskelyne, and raised a redoubt with eight embrasures on the east point of the cove, and mounted them with cannon. Two guns were also mounted on the high part of Garden Island.

Made good the public roads, and repaired them at various times, and threw bridges over the gullies.

An excellent framed bridge was built over Duck-river, capable of bearing the weight of several heavy loaded carriages at one time.

At Sydney a good granary, 72 feet in length by 21 in width, with two floors, was built out of the ruins of a mill-house, which had been erected with much labour and expense by Lieutenant-governor Grose, there not being a building of that description at Sydney.

Built a framed and weather-boarded house on the Green-hills at the Hawkesbury, for the residence of the commanding officer of that district. This house was shingled, and furnished with a cellar, a kitchen, and other accommodations, and surrounded with paling.³

Erected a second strong wind-mill tower at Sydney, 36 feet in height. This tower, before it was covered in, was so damaged by a storm which continued during three days, that it was taken down, and was rebuilt and completed.

A weather-boarded store-house with two wings was built at Sydney, and on the burning of the church was converted into a temporary place of worship.

At Parramatta a weather-boarded granary, 140 feet in length, was built for the reception of maize. This building was shingled.

Built a complete smith's shop for forges at Sydney.

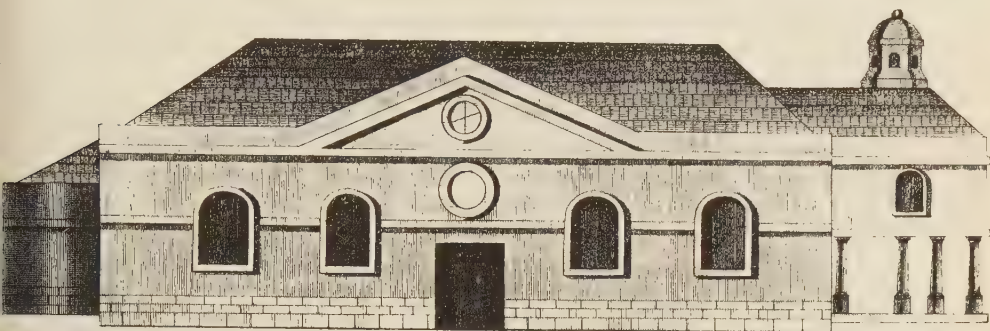
Erected at Sydney an excellent brick granary, 100 feet long and 22 wide, with three floors. An addition was made to this building about 70 feet in length, for a kiln for drying the grain.

Built a range of barracks at Sydney for three officers.

Erected a handsome church at Parramatta, 100 feet in length and 44 in width, with a room 20 feet long, raised on stone pillars, and intended for a vestry or council room.⁴ [See the Plate.]

PLAN & ELEVATION of a CHURCH.

Built at Paramatta New South Wales during the Government of John Hunter Esq. 1800.



CONCLUSION

Began the foundation of a church at Sydney, but of larger dimensions.

Built a tower steeple at the same place for a town clock; and some time afterwards, having been much damaged by the same storm that injured the wind-mill, it was repaired at the south angle, and the whole made good with plaster, and coated with lime.

Built an apartment of brick in the yard of the old gaol, before it was burnt, for debtors, containing three rooms.

Paled in a naval yard on the west side of the cove, and erected within it a joiner's and a blacksmith's shop, with sheds for the vessels while repairing, and for the workmen; with a steamer, a storehouse, a warder's lodge, and an apartment for the clerk.

Build a commodious stone-house, near the naval yard, for the master-boat-builder.

Began and nearly finished a handsome and commodious stone gaol at Sydney; with separate apartments for debtors, and six strong and secure cells for condemned felons.

A large and elegant government house was erected at Parramatta, the first being too small, and the framing so much gone to decay that the roof fell in. The present building is spacious and roomy, with cellars and an attic storey.⁵

Built a neat thatched hut in the government garden at Parramatta, for the gardener.

Built a new dispensary, and removed the pannelled hospital to a more convenient situation, raising it upon a stone foundation. At the same time was erected a new hospital store.

Prepared the foundation of a new powder magazine.

Raised a frame, and thatched the roof of an open barn at the Ninety Acres, and laid a threshing floor.

Fenced and surrounded the military barracks with lofty paling.

Paled in a cooperage adjoining the provision store at Sydney. Cleansed from filth the public tanks at the same place, and surrounded them and the spring-head with paling.

Enlarged by a scalene⁶ building running the whole length of each house, the dwellings of the principal surgeon, the senior assistant-surgeon, and the deputy-surveyor; which gave an additional accommodation of two rooms to each house.

Built a military hospital and dispensary at Sydney, and an officer's guard room at the main guard.

Built sheds for the boats belonging to government when hauled on shore.

Repaired a house for a school at Sydney, plastered, white-washed, and coated it with lime.

Erected houses within the precincts of the hospital at Sydney, for the nurses and attendants while on duty.

CONCLUSION

Laid a new foundation, rebuilt part of the walls, and completely repaired the wet provision store at Parramatta, it being in a very ruinous condition.

Enclosed several stock yards for cattle, and repaired the old sheds at Parramatta, Toongabbie, and Portland Place. In the latter district, the timber of 120 acres was cut down, and nearly half (that of 50 acres) burnt off, a small township marked out, and a few huts built.

Raised also a variety of inferior buildings.

The inclosures of the park and burial ground having been suffered to go to decay, a gang of carpenters and labourers were for a considerable time employed in preparing pickets and railing, and putting them up.

The judge-advocate's house at Sydney was enlarged and completely repaired, several alterations made, and out-houses built.

Exclusive of erecting and repairing the foregoing public works, small detachments were daily employed in preserving in good order and condition the various buildings belonging to the crown, particularly those occupied by that class of inhabitants subordinate to the commissioned officers. And, as these repairs were considered as essentially necessary to prevent such buildings from going to decay, they had been invariably attended to under Governor Hunter.

Had the strength of the public gangs permitted their being further employed, it was intended to have erected a large water-mill at Parramatta, of which some part of the machinery and water-works were prepared.

A court-house at the same place, and two new stores, with a guard-house at the Green Hills. The stores were to be built of brick, and the guard-house of weather-boards.

It was likewise intended to build a strong log-prison or lock-up-house at the Hawkesbury, not to be thatched as formerly, but to be either tiled or shingled.

In the district of Portland Place, a stock-yard, consisting of about 30 acres, was inclosed with posts and rails. It included four chains of fresh-water ponds. Buildings were also designed to be erected within it; and it was meant to continue clearing the ground there, it being remarkably good, and at a convenient distance from Parramatta.

Another stock-yard was designed for government, at Pendent Hills, in Dundas district⁷; but the inclosure was not begun.

In the naval department, a vessel in frame was left on the stocks. She was designed to be of about 150 or 160 tons burden, and capable of taking the relief of the military to and from Norfolk Island.

A boat named the *Cumberland* was on the stocks, and nearly finished, of about 27 tons burden, intended to be schooner rigged and armed, for pursuing deserters; who were, at the time when her keel was laid, in the practice of carrying away the boats of the settlement.

The lighter or hoy called the *Lump*, for want of tar to pay her bottom, was worm-eaten; but, being a serviceable boat, it was intended to repair and double her.

In addition to these buildings (which must have contributed to render the town of Sydney, the principal seat of the government, a picturesque and pleasing object to strangers, as well as tended to the infinite accommodation of all the inhabitants) Lieutenant Kent, the commander of the *Supply*, had, at a very great expense, built a handsome, large, and commodious mansion-house, on a spot of ground which he held on lease in the front of the cove, forming a principal and striking object from the water. This house, on that officer's departure for England in the *Buffalo*, was purchased for an orphan school.

Nothing has been said in this account of the public labour, of preparing the government ground annually for seed and cropping it, or of gathering the harvest when ripe. But these must be taken into the account, as well as threshing the corn for delivery, and unloading the store ships on their arrival; which latter work must always be completed within a limited time, pursuant to their charters. It has been said before, that it was impossible to obtain a fair day's work from the convicts when employed for the public: the weather frequently interfered with outdoor business, and occasioned much to be done a second time. Under all these disadvantages, and with a turbulent, refractory body of prisoners, we are warranted in saying, on thus summing up the whole of the public labour during the last four years, that more could not have been performed; and it is rather matter of wonder that so much had been obtained with such means.⁸

CONCLUSION

The following is a statement of the ground granted and leased to individuals by the different persons who were thereto authorised, from the 22nd of February 1792, the date of the first, to the 25th of September 1800, the date of the last grant.⁹

| Districts where granted | By Governor Phillip | By Lieut.-Gov. Grose | By Lieut.-Col. Paterson | By Governor Hunter | Total granted in each District |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| At Parramatta | 460 | 845 | 100 | 741 | 2,146 |
| At Toongabbie | — | 420 | 160 | 4,734 | 5,314 |
| At Sydney | — | 349 | 80 | 40 | 469 |
| At the Northern Boundary Farms | 370 | 80 | 125 | 150 | 725 |
| At the Ponds | 660 | 200 | 20 | 80 | 960 |
| At Prospect Hill | 810 | 275 | — | 835 | 1,920 |
| At the Eastern Farms | 450 | 170 | 190 | 1,516 | 2,326 |
| At the Field of Mars | 590 | 905 | 760 | 1,420 | 3,675 |
| At Mulgrave Place | — | 2,040 | 2,475 | 6,820 | 11,335 |
| At Liberty Plains | — | 530 | 100 | 830 | 1,480 |
| At Concord | — | 710 | 325 | 140 | 1,175 |
| At York Place | — | — | 50 | 330 | 360 |
| At Bu-la-nam-ing | — | 565 | 30 | 1,516 | 2,111 |
| At Petersham Hill | — | 2,140 | 410 | 2,015 | 4,565 |
| At Hunter's Hill | — | 850 | — | 74 | 924 |
| In Port Jackson Harbour | — | 390 | 140 | 195 | 725 |
| At Banks Town | — | — | — | 3,247 | 3,247 |
| At Dundas District | — | — | — | 700 | 700 |
| At Norfolk Island | 49 | 205 | — | 3,267 | 3,521 |
| Total granted by each | 3,389 | 10,674 | 4,965 | 28,650 | 47,678 |
| Districts where leased | By Governor Phillip | By Lieut. Gov. Grose | By Lieut.-Col. Paterson | By Governor Hunter | Total leased in each District |
| In the township of Sydney | 30 | 27 | 2 | 43¼ | 102¼ |
| In the township of Parramatta | — | — | — | 47 | 47 |
| In the township of Toongabbie | — | — | — | 30 | 30 |
| At Mulgrave Place | — | — | — | 12 | 12 |
| At Norfolk Island | — | — | — | 265 | 265 |
| Total leased by each | 30 | 27 | 2 | 397¼ | 456¼ |

CONCLUSION

It may not be altogether uninteresting to those who may wish for information respecting the concerns of this settlement, to find a register of the shipping which has visited New South Wales from various parts of the globe; whereby it will be seen, that, in however insignificant or contemptible a point of view the colony may in general have been held, individuals have found in it either a port of refreshment after the fatigues of a long voyage, or an advantageous market for their speculations. The arrivals will be confined to the harbour of Port Jackson; only mentioning in this place that of the two ships *Le Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*, at Botany Bay, in January 1788, under the command of the ever-to-be-regretted and unfortunate M. de la Perouse, who followed in the path of our immortal circumnavigator, Captain Cook (with whose name every writer must be proud to adorn his page), and who, like him, has left his country, indeed the whole world, to lament his loss.¹⁰

| Names of Ships | Date of Arrival | Whence | Cargo | Date of Departure | Whither bound |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| His Majesty's armed tender, <i>Supply</i> } | 25th Jan. 1788 | England | | { * 17th Ap 1790 | Batavia { C of G Hope |
| H.M. ship <i>Sirius</i> | 26th - | — | | 1st Oct. 1788 | |
| <i>Alexander</i> , transport | 26th - | — | Convicts | | |
| <i>Scarborough</i> | 26th - | — | — | | |
| <i>Charlotte</i> | 26th - | — | — | | |
| <i>Lady Penrhyn</i> | 26th - | — | — | | |
| <i>Friendship</i> | 26th - | — | — | | |
| <i>Prince of Wales</i> | 26th - | — | — | — | |
| <i>Fishburn</i> , store-ship | 26th - | — | Provisions, etc | — | |
| <i>Golden Grove</i> | 26th - | — | — | — | |
| <i>Borrowdale</i> | 26th - | — | — | | |
| H.M. ship <i>Sirius</i> | 6th May 1789 | { C of G Hope | — | { Lost at Norfolk Island | |
| <i>Lady Juliana</i> , trans. | 3rd June 1790 | England | Convicts | — | |
| <i>Justinian</i> , store-ship | 20th - | — | Provisions, etc. | | |
| <i>Surprise</i> , transport | 26th - | — | Convicts | | |
| <i>Neptune</i> | 28th - | — | — | | |
| <i>Scarborough</i> | 28th - | — | — | | |
| H.M. a t. <i>Supply</i> | 19th Sept. | Batavia | Provisions | | |
| <i>Waaksamheyd</i> } | | | | | |
| Dutch store-ship } | 17th Dec. | — | — | | |
| <i>Mary Ann</i> , transport | 9th July 1791 | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Matilda</i> | 1st August | — | — | | |
| <i>Atlantic</i> | 20th - | — | — | | |
| <i>Salamander</i> | 21st - | — | — | | |
| <i>William and Ann</i> | 28th - | — | — | | |
| H.M.S. <i>Gorgon</i> | 21st Sept. | — | { Stores provisions | | |

* These departures are noticed, to shew in what time the principal passages have been made to and from the different ports with which the colony had intercourse, by comparing the time of sailing with the return.

CONCLUSION

| Names of Ships | Date of Arrival | Whence | Cargo | Date of Departure | Whither bound |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Active</i> , transport | 26th | — | Convicts | | |
| <i>Queen</i> | 26th | Ireland | — | | |
| <i>Albemarle</i> | 13th Oct. | England | — | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> | 14th Oct. | England | — | | |
| <i>Admiral Barrington</i> | 16th | — | — | | |
| <i>Pitt</i> | 14th Feb. 1792 | — | — | | |
| <i>Atlantic</i> , store-ship | 20th June | Bengal | Provisions | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> | 26th July | England | — | 24th Oct. 1792 | { C of G Hope |
| <i>Royal Admiral</i> | 7th Oct. | — | Convicts | | |
| <i>Philadelphia</i> , brig } <i>American</i> | 1st Nov. | Philadel phia | Speculation | | |
| <i>Kitty</i> , transport | 18th | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Hope</i> , American | Dec. | Rhode Island | Speculation | | |
| <i>Chesterfield</i> , whaler | - - | C of G Hope | To repair | | |
| <i>Bellona</i> , transport | 15th Jan. 1793 | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Shah Hormuzear</i> | 24th Feb. | — | Speculation | | |
| <i>El Descuierta</i> { Spa. <i>L'Atrevida</i> { Cor. | 12th March | Manilla | To refresh | | |
| <i>Daedalus</i> , store-ship | 20th April | { NW Coast of America | Provisions, etc | 1st July 1793 | { Nootka Sound |
| <i>Britannia</i> | June | C of G Hope | { Cattle, etc private property | 8th Sept. | Bengal |
| <i>Boddingtons</i> , trans. | 7th August | Ireland | Convicts | | |
| <i>Sugar-cane</i> | 17th Sept. | — | — | | |
| <i>Fairy</i> , American | 29th Oct. | Boston | To refresh | | |
| <i>William</i> , store-ship | 10th March 1794 | England | Provisions | | |
| <i>Arthur</i> | 10th | Bengal | Speculation | | |
| <i>Daedalus</i> , store-ship | 3rd April | N W America | Provisions | | |
| <i>Indispensable</i> | 24th May | England | — | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> | 1st June | Batavia | — | 1st Sept. | { C of G Hope |
| <i>Speedy</i> | 8th | England | — | | |
| <i>Halcyon</i> , American | 14th | Rhode Island | Speculation | | |
| <i>Hope</i> , American | 5th July | — | — | | |
| <i>Fancy</i> | 9th | Bombay | Provisions | | |
| <i>Resolution</i> , store-ship | 10th Sept. | England | — | | |
| <i>Salamander</i> | 11th | — | — | | |
| <i>Mercury</i> , American | 17th Oct. | Rhode Island | — | | |
| <i>Surprise</i> , transport | 25th | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Experiment</i> | 24th Dec. | Bengal | Speculation | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> | 4th March 1795 | C of G Hope | { Stock for the officers | 18th June 1795 | India |
| <i>Endeavour</i> , store-ship | 31st May | Bombay | Cattle | | |
| <i>H.M.S. Providence</i> | 26th August | England | — | | |
| <i>H.M.S. Reliance</i> } <i>H.M.S. Supply</i> } | 7th September | England | Stores | { 29th Sept. 1796 20th | { C of G Hope |
| <i>Young William</i> , st. sh. | 4th October | — | — | | |
| <i>Sovereign</i> | 5th November | — | — | | |
| <i>Arthur</i> | 1st Jan. 1796 | Bengal | Speculation | | |
| <i>Ceres</i> , store-ship | 23rd | England | Provisions | | |
| <i>Experiment</i> | 24th | Bengal | Speculation | | |
| <i>Otter</i> , American | 24th | Boston | To refresh | | |
| <i>Marquis Cornwallis</i> , } transport | 11th February | Ireland | Convicts | | |

CONCLUSION

| Names of Ships | Date of Arrival | Whence | Cargo | Date of Departure | Whither bound |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>Abigail</i> , American | February | Rhode Island | Speculation | Condemned | |
| <i>Assistance</i> | 17th March | Dusky Bay | | | |
| <i>Susan</i> , American | 19th April | Rhode Island | Speculation | | |
| <i>Indispensable</i> , trans. | 30th | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> , store ship | 11th May | Calcutta | Provisions | | |
| <i>Grand Turk</i> , American } | 23rd August | Boston | Speculation | | |
| <i>Prince of Wales</i> , store-ship } | 2nd November | England | — | | |
| <i>Sylph</i> | 17th | — | — | | |
| <i>Mercury</i> , American | 11th Jan. 1797 | Manilla | To refit | | |
| <i>H.M.S. Supply</i> | 16th May | C of G Hope | Cattle | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> , transport | 27th | Ireland | Provisions | | |
| <i>Ganges</i> | 2nd June | — | — | | |
| <i>H.M.S. Reliance</i> | 26th | C of G Hope | Cattle | | |
| <i>Deptford</i> | 20th September | Madras | Speculation | | |
| <i>Nautilus</i> | 14th May 1798 | Otaheite | Missionaries | | |
| <i>Barwell</i> , transport | 18th | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Hunter</i> | 10th June | Bengal | Speculation | | |
| <i>Cornwall</i> , whaler | 2nd July | C of G Hope | To refit | | |
| <i>Eliza</i> | 4th | — | — | | |
| <i>Argo</i> , American schooner } | 7th | Mauritius | Speculation | | |
| <i>Sally</i> , whaler | 8th July | C of G Hope | To refit | | |
| <i>Britannia</i> , transport | 18th | England | Convicts | | |
| <i>Pomona</i> , whaler | 20th August | C of G Hope | To refit | | |
| <i>Diana</i> | 20th | — | — | | |
| <i>Semiramis</i> , American | 1st October | Rhode Island | — | | |
| <i>Marquis Cornwallis</i> , store-ship } | 27th | C of G Hope | Cattle | | |
| <i>Indispensable</i> , whaler | 27th | — | To refit | 15th Sept. 1799 | { C of G Hope |
| <i>Rebecca</i> , American | 5th March 1799 | — | Speculation | | |
| <i>Nostra Senora de</i> <i>Bethlehem</i> , prize } | 24th April | Cape Blanco | Various articles | | |
| <i>H.M.S. Buffalo</i> | 26th | C of G Hope | Cattle | | |
| <i>Albion</i> , store-ship | 29th June | England | Provisions | | |
| <i>Hillsborough</i> , trans. | 26th July | — | Convicts | | |
| <i>Resource</i> , American | 6th September | Rhode Island | To refit | | |
| <i>Walker</i> , store-ship | 3rd November | England | Provisions | | |
| <i>El Plumier</i> , prize | 2nd December | Cape | Various articles | | |
| <i>Swallow</i> , packet | 3rd Jan. 1800 | England | To refit | | |
| <i>Minerva</i> , transport | 11th | Ireland | Convicts | | |
| <i>Phynne</i> , Danish colours } | 11th Feb. 1800 | Bengal | Speculation | | |
| <i>Betsey</i> , whaler } | 13th | { W. Coast of America | To refit | | |
| <i>Friendship</i> , transport | 16th | Ireland | Convicts | | |
| <i>Speedy</i> , transport | 15th April | England | — | | |
| <i>H.M.S. Buffalo</i> | 15th | C of G Hope | Cattle | | |
| <i>Belle Sauvage</i> , American } | 7th June | Rhode Island | To refit | | |

Of these ships 37 sailed from England with convicts, male and female, for the settlement, having about 5000 persons of that description on board, of which something more (157) than one fifth were females.

The following ships had sailed from England and Ireland for New South Wales; but none of them had arrived previous to the departure of the *Buffalo*, viz

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 24th August 1799 | <i>Luz. St. Ann</i> , transport, with 167 Convicts. |
| 17th March 1800 | H.M.S. the <i>Porpoise</i> . She arrived the 7th Nov. following. |
| 23rd May 1800 | <i>Royal Admiral</i> , transport, 300 convicts. |
| 18th November | <i>Earl Cornwallis</i> , — 327 |
| 21st June 1801 | <i>Nile</i> , — 96 |
| — | <i>Canada</i> , — 103 |
| 28th November | <i>Minorca</i> , — 101 |
| — | <i>Hercules</i> , — } 330 |
| 12th February 1802 | <i>Atlas</i> , — } |
| — | <i>Coromandel</i> , — } 250 |
| | <i>Perseus</i> , — } |
| | <i>Rollo</i> , — } 250 |
| | <i>Atlas</i> , — } |

Having been favoured with a more minute and ornithological description of the elegant and novel bird mentioned in page 65 of the preceding sheets since they were sent to the press, it is here given.

The bill of this bird, which has been named the *Maenura superba*, is straight, having the nostrils in the centre of the beak. The base of the upper mandible is furnished with hairs like feathers turning down; the upper mandible is at the base somewhat like that of the pigeon. The eye is a dark hazel, with a bare space around it. The throat and chin are of a dark rufous colour: the rest, with the body, of a dusky grey. The feathers on the rump are longer than those of the body, and more divided. The colour of the wings, which are concave, is dark rufous. The legs and claws are large in proportion to the bird, particularly the claws. The outward toe is connected with the middle one as far as the first joint. The tail is long, and composed of three different sorts of feathers, of which the upper side is of a dark grey, with ferruginous spots. The first two lower feathers, which are a little curved in two directions, are beneath of a pearly colour, enriched with several crescent shaped spaces, of a rich rufous and black colour. The laminae are unwebbed, turned round toward the extremity, and ornamented with a black bar, the breadth of an inch, and fringed at the end. The shaft of the second, which is likewise long, is fringed with long hair-like filaments; and the third, which is also long and curved, is plumed on the inner side only, except at the extremity, where there are a few separated filaments of a dark grey colour.

The female *Maenura superba* differs very little from the male, except

in the tail, which is composed of twelve feathers a little curved and plumed, having the upper side dark rufous and grey, and the under of a pearly colour.

The following curious particulars of these birds were observed by persons resident in the country, and who were eye-witnesses of what is here told.

They frequent retired and inaccessible parts of the interior; have been seen to run remarkably fast, but their tails are so cumbrous that they cannot fly in a direct line. They sing for two hours in the morning, beginning from the time when they quit the valley, until they attain the summit of the hill; where they scrape together a small hillock, on which they stand, with their tail spread over them, imitating successively the note of every bird known in the country. They then return to the valley.

The drawing from which the engraving is made was taken from a beautiful stuffed *Maenura superba* in the collection of Mr. Arthur Harrison¹¹ (who also is in possession of a female *Maenura superba*), and which was presented to that gentleman by Governor Hunter.

The peculiar conformation of the amphibious animal mentioned on page 45 of this Volume, having attracted the attention of Everard Home, esq¹² a paper, containing the result of a minute examination of the external and internal parts of two specimens which had been preserved in spirits, and sent from Port Jackson to Sir Joseph Banks was drawn up by Mr. Home, and, having been read before the Royal Society (on Thursday the 17th December 1801), was afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions. From that paper, which was most obligingly and politely sent to me by Mr. Home, I have, through the liberality of the President of that learned body, been allowed to select such particulars of this curious animal, as will, I think, be acceptable to the readers of this work; who no doubt will join with me in rejoicing that an animal, hitherto unknown to science, should have fallen under the observation and examination of a gentleman so eminently qualified to develop the secrets of nature.

The natural history of this animal, which has obtained the name of *Ornithorhynchus paradoxus* is at present very little known. The following particulars were communicated to Mr. Home by Governor Hunter, who, during his residence in New South Wales, had opportunities of seeing the animal alive.

The *Ornithorhynchus* is only found in fresh-water lakes, of which there are many in the interior parts of the country, some three quarters of a mile long, and several hundred yards broad. It does not swim upon the surface of the water, but comes up occasionally to breathe, which it does in the same manner as the turtle. The natives sit upon the banks, with small wooden spears, and watch them every time

they rise to the surface, till they get a proper opportunity of striking them. This they do with much dexterity, and frequently succeed in catching them this way.

Governor Hunter saw a native watch one for above an hour before he attempted to spear it, which he did through the neck and fore leg: when on shore, it used its claws with so much force that they were obliged to confine it between two pieces of board, while they were cutting off the barbs of the spear, to disengage it. When let loose, it ran upon the ground with as much activity as a land tortoise; which is faster than the structure of its fore feet would have led us to believe. It inhabits the banks of the lakes, and is supposed to feed in the muddy places which surround them; but the particular kind of food on which it subsists is not known.

The male is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, from the point of the bill to the extremity of the tail. The bill is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long; and the tail, measuring from the anus, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The body of the animal is compressed, and nearly of the same general thickness throughout, except at the shoulders, where it is rather smaller. The circumference of the body is 11 inches. There is no fat deposited between the skin and the muscles.

In the female, the size of the body is rendered proportionally larger than that of the male, by a quantity of fat lying every where under the skin.

The male is of a very dark brown colour, on the back, legs, bill, and tail; the under surface of the neck and belly is of a silver grey. In the female the colour is lighter.

The hair is made up of two kinds; a very thick fur, one half of an inch long, and a very uncommon kind of hair, three quarters of an inch long. The portion next the root has the common appearance of hair; but for a quarter of an inch towards the point it becomes flat, giving it some faint resemblance to very fine feathers: this portion has a gloss upon it; and when the hair is dry, the different reflections from the edges and surfaces of these longer hairs give the whole a very uncommon appearance. The fur and hair upon the belly is longer than that upon the back.

Externally there is no appearance of the organs of generation in either sex; the orifice of the anus being a common opening to the rectum and prepuce in the male, and to the rectum and vagina in the female.

There was no appearance that could be detected, of nipples; although the skin on the belly of the female was examined with the utmost accuracy for that purpose.

The head is rather compressed. The bill, which projects beyond the mouth, in its appearance resembles that of the duck; but is in its structure more like that of the spoonbill, the middle part being

composed of bone, as in that bird: it has a very strong cuticular covering.

The nostrils are two orifices, very close to each other, near the end of the bill; the upper lip projecting three quarters of an inch beyond them.

The eyes are very small; they are situated more upon the upper part of the head than is usual, and are directly behind the loose edge of the cuticular flap belonging to the bill. The eyelids are circular orifices concealed in the hair, and, in the male, are with difficulty discovered; but in the female there is a tuft of lighter hair, which marks their situation.

The external ears are two large slits, directly behind the eyes, and much larger than the orifices of the eyelids.

The teeth, if they can be so called, are all grinders; they are four in number, situated in the posterior part of the mouth, one on each side of the upper and under jaw, and have broad flat crowns. They differ from common teeth very materially, having neither enamel nor bone, but being composed of a horny substance only, embedded in the gum, to which they are connected by an irregular surface in the place of fangs. When cut through, which is readily done by a knife, the internal structure is fibrous like the human nail: the direction of the fibres is from the crown downwards.

Between the cheek and the jaw, on each side of the mouth, there is a pouch, as in the monkey tribe, lined with a cuticle. When laid open, it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and the same in breadth. In the female it contained a concreted substance, the size of a very small nut, one in each pouch: this, when examined through the microscope, was found to be made up of very small portions of broken crystals.

Besides these grinding teeth, there are two small pointed horny teeth upon the projecting part of the posterior portion of the tongue, the points of which are directed forwards, seemingly to prevent the food from being pushed into the fauces during the process of mastication; which circumstance Mr. Home thinks peculiar to this animal: in the tongue of the flamingo there is a row of short teeth on each side, but not in any other bird that he has seen.

The fore legs are short, and the feet webbed. On each foot there are five toes, united by the web, which is very broad, and is continued beyond the points of the toes nearly an inch. On each toe there is a rounded straight nail, which lies loose upon the membrane forming the web.

The hind legs are nearly of the same length as the fore legs, but stronger. Each foot has five toes with curved claws, and webbed; but the web does not extend beyond the points of the toes.

In the male, just at the setting-on of the heel, there is a strong

crooked spur, half an inch long, with a sharp point, which has a joint between it and the foot, and is capable of motion in two directions. When the point of it is brought close to the leg, the spur is almost completely concealed among the hair; when directed outwards, it projects considerably, and is very conspicuous. It is probably by means of these spurs, or hooks, that the female is kept from withdrawing herself in the act of copulation; since they are very conveniently placed for laying hold of her body on that particular occasion. This spur is peculiar to the male.

The tail, in its general shape, is very similar to that of the beaver.

Of the internal parts, the tongue is two inches long, lying in the hollow between the two jaws, but not projecting any way into the bill, being confined to its situation, except a very small portion at the tip.

The ribs are sixteen in number, and are united by a very elastic ligamentous substance, which admits of their being pulled to some distance; so that the capacity of the chest can undergo a very unusual degree of change.

The heart is situated in the middle line of the chest, its apex pointing to the sternum, and is inclosed in a strong pericardium: it is made up of two auricles and two ventricles.

The lungs are large in size, corresponding to the capacity of the chest. Instead of a portion of them being above the heart, as in other animals, the heart may be said to be above the lungs; for they only embrace its sides, and do not surround its upper surface, but extend downwards into the more moveable part of the cavity of the chest.

The stomach is smaller than in most other animals; in this respect resembling the true stomach of birds.

The liver is composed of four lobes, besides the small lobe, or lobulus spigelii. The gall bladder is in the usual situation, and of the common size.

The skull is rather flattened upon the upper surface: its cavity is capacious, and there is a bony process projecting from the cranium, in place of the falx or dura mater. This Mr. Home believes is not the case in any other quadruped.

The olfactory nerves are small, and so are the optic nerves; but the fifth pair, which supply the muscles of the face, are uncommonly large. From this circumstance, we should be led, Mr. Home says, to believe, that the sensibility of the different parts of the bill is very great, and therefore that it answers the purpose of a hand, and is capable of nice discrimination in its feeling.

The eye is very small, and is nearly spherical. There is a membrana nictitans; and the eyelid is very loose upon the eyeball: it is probably capable of great dilatation and contraction.

The membrana tympani is larger than in other quadrupeds of the same size.

The organs of generation in this animal have several peculiarities of a very extraordinary nature.

The male organs do not appear externally; so that the distinguishing mark of the sex is the spur on the hind leg.

The testicles are situated in the cavity of the abdomen, immediately below the kidneys: they are large for the size of the animal. The epididymis is connected with the body of the testicle by a broad membrane, which admits of its lying very loose.

The penis in this animal does not, as in other quadrupeds, give passage to the urine. It is entirely appropriated to the purpose of conveying the semen; and a distinct canal conducts the urine into the rectum, by an opening about an inch from the external orifice of the intestine. The gut at this part is defended from the acrimony of the urine, by the mucus secreted by two glands, which, probably for this reason, are very large in the male, but small in the female.

The penis is short and small in its relaxed state; and its body does not appear capable of being very much enlarged when erected. The prepuce is a fold of the internal membrane of the verge of the anus, as in the bird; and the penis, when retracted, is entirely concealed.

The glans penis is double; one glans having its extremity directed to the right, the other to the left: and as they supply two distinct cavities with semen, they may be considered as two penises. This is an approach to the bird kind, many species of which have two. There was no appearance of vesiculæ feminales.

The female organs open into the rectum, as in the bird. The vagina is 1½ inches long: its internal membrane is rugous, the rugae being in a longitudinal direction. At the end of the vagina, instead of an os tincae, as in other quadrupeds, is the meatus urinarius; on each side of which is an opening leading into a cavity, resembling the horn of the uterus in the quadruped, only thinner in its coats. Each of these cavities terminates in a fallopian tube, which opens into the capsule of an ovarium. The ovaria are very small; they were not in a very perfect state of preservation, but bore a general resemblance to those of other quadrupeds.

This structure of the female organs is unlike any thing hitherto met with in quadrupeds; since in all of them that I examined, says Mr. Home, there is the body of the uterus, from which the horns go off as appendages. The opossum differs from all other animals in the structure of these parts, but has a perfectly formed uterus; nor can I suppose it wanting in any of the class Mammalia.

This animal having no nipples, and no regularly formed uterus, Mr. Home says, he was led to examine the female organ in birds, to see if there was any analogy between the oviducts in any of that

class, and the two membranous uteri of this animal; but none could be observed; nor would it be easy to explain how an egg could lie in the vagina to receive its shell, as the urine from the bladder must pass directly over it. Finding they had no resemblance to the oviducts in birds, Mr. Home was led to compare them with the uteri of those lizards which form an egg, that is afterwards deposited in a cavity corresponding to the uterus of other animals, where it is hatched; which lizards may therefore be called ovi-viviparous; and I find, says Mr. Home, a very close resemblance between them. In these lizards there are two uteri, that open into one common canal, or vagina, which is extremely short; and the meatus urinarius is situated between these openings. The coats of these uteri are thinner than those of the uteri of quadrupeds of the same size.

In the ovi-viviparous dog-fish, the internal organs of the female have a very similar structure. There is therefore every reason to believe, that this animal also is ovi-viviparous in its mode of generation.

It appears, by accounts which have been received from New South Wales, that the voyage of the small brig *Lady Nelson*, commanded by Lieutenant Grant, was (notwithstanding her size, being only 60 tons burden, and the distance she had to sail) effected without her meeting with any material accident; she arriving in December 1801. Her commander was so perfectly acquainted with her good qualities, that he ventured to make the land of New Holland, in latitude $38^{\circ} 00'$ south, coasting for some distance toward the eastward, and sailing through Bass Strait, in his way up to Port Jackson.¹³

It does not appear, that this passage of the *Lady Nelson* through the Strait added any thing new to the discoveries which had been previously made by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass, in the little sloop *Norfolk*, except that of having made the land about four degrees further to the westward than had been seen by those gentlemen.

By means of a few such vessels as the *Lady Nelson*, well commanded, and furnished with instruments requisite for carrying on a maritime survey, the necessary knowledge of the coast of that extensive country would soon be obtained. Governor Hunter, who is well known to be thoroughly qualified in this essential part of maritime education, has been frequently heard to say, that with a few small vessels, perhaps three or four, if he could have obtained them, or if his instructions would have permitted his building them, he would in the course of a short period have gained some acquaintance with all that part of the coast which Captain Cook had not an opportunity of examining minutely.

Large vessels, in his opinion, were not wanted for such a survey, nor were they fit for the purpose. A deposit of the stores necessary for this service could be made at the principal settlement, where

such vessels, whenever requisite, might refit or repair. Large ships are proper to be employed only when they are to survey an unknown coast, where supplies are not to be had; this rendering it expedient that they should be sufficiently capacious to carry a considerable stock of provisions and stores for all their purposes. The small vessel, if caught upon a lee shore, and unable to work off, has a chance of finding security for anchorage where a large ship cannot; and if no such shelter offer, she has in her favour a greater probability of saving her crew by running on shore; her light draught of water admitting her to approach the land much nearer than could the large vessel.

Dispatches have been recently received at Lord Hobart's office from New South Wales, dated in August 1801, by which it appears, that the quantity of salt provisions remaining in store in the beginning of the year, being very inconsiderable, and it being possible that accidents might happen to ships sent from England with meat, the governor had judged it necessary to send the *Porpoise* to the island of Otaheite, for the purpose of salting pork for the use of the colony: and as it was absolutely necessary to send thither a quantity of salt for this purpose (an article which the colony could not furnish), he fortunately was enabled to purchase about fifteen tons of salt from the master of a whaler which put in there from one of the Cape de Verd islands. On this voyage the *Porpoise* sailed in the month of May 1801, and her commander, Lieutenant Scott, was furnished, in addition to very ample instructions for his guidance, with a letter from the governor to Pomarre, the king of Otaheite, urging him to give Mr. Scott every protection and assistance in the execution of the business on which he was sent to the island, and recommending particularly to his care such of the missionaries as resided in the place. It was pointed out to him how much this conduct would ensure his majesty the favourable opinion of King George; and Mr. Scott was provided with a quantity of such articles for barter as were likely to please the eye as well as be useful to the people whom he might have to deal with; among which were some red and yellow cloth, some tomahawks, axes, knives, scissors, shirts, jackets, etc.: and, as nothing was more likely to ensure success than a handsome present to his Majesty, a mantle and some other articles of dress decorated with red feathers, together with six muskets and some ammunition, were given to Mr. Scott to be presented to the king.¹⁴

Directions were also sent to the lieutenant-governor at Norfolk Island, to salt a quantity of pork for the use of the principal settlement.

The governor had likewise entered into a contract with a merchant in India¹⁵, to freight a ship with cattle and rice, after the arrival of which he was of opinion that further supplies of cattle might be unnecessary, the stock in the country, independent of the wild herd,

being very considerable. That herd was grown very furious, and, having got among the mountains to the westward, rendered any attempts to take them dangerous and useless.

The *Lady Nelson* brig had been in Bass Strait, and surveyed Western port, where she found a very good harbour.¹⁶ She had also been, in company with the *Francis* (colonial schooner), to Hunter river, where they took in between them 45 tons of coal, which were exchanged with the master of the *Cornwallis*, for a quantity of nails and iron, articles that were much wanted; thus, for the first time, making the natural produce of the country contribute to its wants.

The *Francis* being nearly worn out, the governor had purchased a vessel called the *Harbinger*, to be employed in going to and from Norfolk Island, the service of the *Porpoise* being required for longer voyages. The *Supply*, which had been long since condemned, was fitting up as a hulk to receive such convicts as were incorrigible, in which capacity she might still be very useful. It was intended that the *Lady Nelson* should, at the proper season, be employed in an accurate survey of Bass Strait.

Accounts having been received of the Union between the Two Kingdoms, that event was celebrated on the 4th of June 1801, and on that occasion the new union flag was for the first time displayed in New South Wales.¹⁷ The governor took that opportunity of releasing several of the Irish insurgents who had been in confinement.

It appeared, on examining the registers of the several terms of transportation of the convicts, that the clerks, who necessarily had had access to them, had altered the sentences of about two hundred prisoners, receiving a gratuity from each equal to ten or twelve pounds. This was a very serious evil; and proper steps to guard against it in future have been taken both at home and in the colony.¹⁸

That necessary institution, the Orphan School, had been carried into effect, and the house which had been purchased for the reception of the children was occupied by them.¹⁹

It appeared, upon collecting the accounts of the expenses attending the erecting of the county gaol, that that building had cost the sum of £3954 the greatest part of which had been paid by assessments upon individuals.

Every encouragement was given to promote the growth of wool fit for the purpose of manufacturing, and three hundred and six yards of blanketing had been made from what had been produced in the year preceding the date of the dispatches, from the flocks belonging to government and to individuals. In five months four hundred and seventy-two yards of flax had been manufactured into linen.²⁰

The colony continued healthy. In July 1801 there were one hundred and eighteen persons on the surgeon's list.

The spirit of adventure, which still manifested itself in the arrival

CONCLUSION

of ships upon speculation, received some check in the governor's sending back three vessels that had arrived from Bengal, on board of which were not less than fifty-four thousand gallons of spirits and wine.

A quantity of copper coin having been received, the governor published a table of all the specie legally in circulation within the colony, affixing the following rates to each, at which they should be considered and be a legal tender in all payments or transactions within the territory, viz.

TABLE OF SPECIE

| | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|
| A guinea | £ 1 2 0 | A rupee | £ 0 2 6 |
| A johannes | 4 0 0 | A Dutch guilder | 0 2 0 |
| A half ditto | 2 0 0 | An English shilling | 0 1 1 |
| A ducat | 0 9 6 | A copper coin of 1 oz | 0 0 2 |
| A gold mohur | 1 17 6 | A ditto of ½ oz | 0 0 1 |
| A pagoda | 0 8 0 | A ditto of ¼ oz | 0 0 0½ |
| A Spanish dollar | 0 5 0 | | |

And as the supply of copper was sent to relieve the inconvenience under which persons who wanted to make small payments laboured, no sum exceeding £5 was to be deemed a legal tender in this money. It was also declared, that the exporting or importing (except from the treasury) of any sum of the copper coin exceeding £5 should be punished by a forfeiture and fine of treble the value of the sum so exported or imported.²¹

Several ships had arrived from India, England, and America, most of which had brought, upon speculation, cargoes consisting of wine, spirits, tobacco, teas, sugar, hardware, wearing apparel, etc., etc. the sale of which was, with the governor's approbation, advertised by the commissary, and publicly sold to all descriptions of people.

It appears, that from these ships²²

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 59,294 gallons of spirits | } had been imported. |
| 30,896 gallons of wines | |

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 26,974 gallons of spirits | } had been landed. |
| 8,896 gallons of wines | |

And,

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 32,320 gallons of spirits | } had been sent away. |
| 22,000 gallons of wines | |

Three ships had arrived with convicts, viz.

The Royal Admiral, on the 22nd of November 1800.

Luz. St. Anne, on the 21st of February 1801.

Earl Cornwallis, on the 12th of June following.

On the 30th of June 1801, there were in the settlement, five thousand five hundred and forty-seven persons of all descriptions, of whom seven hundred and seventy-six were children. At Norfolk Island the whole number of persons was nine hundred and sixty-one, making a total of six thousand five hundred and eight persons under the authority of the governor.²³

At Norfolk Island it was fortunately discovered, on the 14th of December 1800, that a plot had been formed by some of the convicts to murder the officers, and, getting possession of the island, to liberate themselves. Two of the ringleaders were immediately executed.

Major Foveaux, the lieutenant-governor, had found, what had been so much wanted and hitherto unknown, a good landing-place for boats and small craft, in Anson's Bay, where there were four and five fathoms of water within a few yards of the shore, which was a fine sandy beach, and the passage free from rocks or shoals.

The following was the state of the live stock, and ground in cultivation, in New South Wales:

LIVE STOCK BELONGING TO INDIVIDUALS

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|------|
| In June 1801 | Sheep | Cattle | Horses | Goats | Hogs |
| | 6269 | 362 | 211 | 1259 | 4766 |

BELONGING TO GOVERNMENT²⁴

| | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------|--------|
| In August 1801 | Sheep | Cattle | Horses |
| | 488 | 931 | 32 |

GROUND IN CULTIVATION

| | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Acres of Wheat | Acres for Maize |
| Government | 467 | 300 |
| Individuals | 4857¼ | 3564 |
| Total | 5333¾ | 3864 |

A stack, containing 1000 bushels of grain, the property of an individual, had been unfortunately destroyed by fire.

The Hawkesbury had again inundated the adjacent country; and many of the settlers, who had farms on its banks, had in despair totally abandoned them.

With this information I must here conclude my labours; and, as the annalist of the English Colony in New South Wales, probably take my leave for ever of that country, in whose service I spent the first nine years of its infancy, during all the difficulties and hardships with which, in that rude state, it had to contend: a country which has eventually proved the destruction of my brightest prospects; having, by my services there, been precluded from succeeding to my proper situation in the professional line to which I was bred; without any other reward as yet to boast of, than the consciousness of having ever been a faithful and zealous servant to my employers, and knowing that the peculiar hardship of my case has been acknowledged by every gentleman, in and out of office, to whom it has been communicated.²⁵

F I N I S

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ADB | <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> , Vols. 1 and 2, Melbourne, 1966, 1967 |
| Bowes | A journal of a voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China in the <i>Lady Penrhyn</i> , merchantman—William Cropton Sever, Commander, by Arthur Bowes Smyth, Surgeon, 1787-1788-1789. |
| Bradley | <i>A Voyage to New South Wales, The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786-1792</i> , Sydney, 1969 |
| Clark | Journal, 9 March 1787-17 June 1792 and Letterbook 3 Apr. 1787-30 Sept. 1791 |
| C.O. | Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office, London. Microfilms in Mitchell Library |
| DNB | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , London, 1893 |
| Easty | Easty J., <i>Memorandum of the Transactions of a Voyage from England to Botany Bay</i> , Sydney, 1965 |
| HRA | <i>Historical Records of Australia</i> , Published by the Library Committee of the Commonwealth of Australia, Sydney, 1914. All references to Series 1, except where otherwise indicated |
| HRNSW | <i>Historical Records of New South Wales</i> , Sydney, 1892-1901 |
| Hist. Stud., Aust. and NZ | <i>Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand</i> , Melbourne University Press |
| Hunter | Hunter J., <i>An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787-1792</i> , ed. J. Bach, Sydney, 1968 |
| ML | Mitchell Library, Sydney |
| Phillip | <i>The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay</i> , Introduction and Annotations by J.J. Auchmuty, Sydney, 1970 |
| Scott | Scott J., <i>Remarks on a Passage to Botany Bay, 1787-1792</i> , Sydney, 1963 |
| Southwell | Southwell D., Letters and Log Book, Mitchell Library |
| Tench | <i>Sydney's First Four Years, being a reprint of A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson</i> , by Watkin Tench, Introduction and Annotations by L.F. Fitzhardinge, Sydney, 1961 |
| White | <i>Journal of A Voyage to New South Wales</i> , by J. White, biographical introduction by R. Rienits, edited by A.H. Chisholm, Sydney, 1962 |

REFERENCE NOTES

DEDICATION

Robert, Lord Hobart (1760-1816), fourth earl of Buckinghamshire, was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies and War Department in the Addington ministry in March 1801. He had previously played an active part in Irish affairs and was governor of the presidency of Madras from October 1793 until August 1798. He remained Secretary of State after the ministry was reconstituted under Pitt in May 1804, but resigned in 1805. Subsequently he served in a number of cabinet posts until he was killed by falling from a horse on 4 February 1816. At the time when Collins wrote his second volume he was looking for appointment in the government service and no doubt looked to Hobart for patronage (*DNB*, Vol. XXVII, pp.34-35).

MAP (page viii)

This map is similar to the one which appeared as the frontispiece to Volume I of Collins' *Account*. The originals of the two maps, both of which were drawn by Governor Hunter, are preserved in the Dixon Library (Cb 79/7 and cb 79/9). Not all of the features of Hunter's second map appeared on the map in Collins' second volume. It seems likely that instead of cutting a new plate the publishers used the old one, correcting it in some places but not in others. Thus, the new track followed by Bass and Williamson is indicated, but not two new tracks which led from Prospect Hill to the Nepean River in the direction of Mount Hunter.

CHAPTER I

- 1 This paragraph is based on the Government and General Order, 26 September 1796, *HRA* Vol. I, pp. 699.
- 2 The murdered man was Simon Raven, who was buried on 16 October 1796. A former convict, he had been sentenced at Norwich on 19 March 1789 to seven years' imprisonment and arrived on the *Matilda* in August 1791 (Mutch Index; St Phillip's Register).
- 3 The murdered woman was Katharine Evans (St Phillip's Register).
- 4 The whole of this paragraph draws heavily on the Government and General Order of 29 October which is reproduced in *HRA*, Vol. I, pp. 700-1.
- 5 On the numbering of houses see also Hunter to Banks, 30 March 1797, Letters of Governor Hunter, 1795-1802, p.25.
- 6 Further details of these reforms are in Government and General Order, 9 November 1796, *HRA*, Vol. I, pp.701-2.
- 7 The Dutch squadron had in fact been sent to attack the Cape of Good Hope which had been taken by the British in June 1795. Sir George Elphinstone

(1746-1823), who had directed operations, found the Dutch squadron at anchor in Saldanha Bay on 16 February 1796 and confronted it with such overwhelming odds that it surrendered without a fight. He himself returned to England shortly after and on 7 March 1797 was made Baron Keith of Stonehaven Marischal (*DNB*, Vol. XVII, pp.316-21).

- 8 The records of the Criminal court contain the trials of only four persons, Elizabeth Anderson, William Norman, Francis Morgan and Patrick Flinn (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, Feb. 1788-Dec. 1797, pp.578-621)
- 9 Francis Morgan had been sentenced at Dublin in September 1791 and arrived on the *Sugar Cane* in September 1793 to serve for seven years. John Lawler and Thomas Doyle had also received seven-year sentences at Dublin, the former in 1790 and the latter in 1791. Lawler arrived on the *Queen* in September 1791, while Doyle came on the *Sugar Cane*. No information is available concerning McNally and McEwen.
- 10 Michael Dolan is the only one of these three men whose background is known. He had been sentenced at Dublin in May 1791 to seven years and arrived on the *Boddington* in August 1793.
- 11 This Order was dated 12 December 1796 and is in *HRA* Vol. II, pp.70-1.
- 12 The island was Pinchgut (P.R. Stephensen, *The History and Description of Sydney Harbour*, Sydney, 1966, p.114).
- 13 Hunter had been ordered to sow additional government land with grain, but owing to a labour shortage he found it impossible to cultivate any land in 1796. In 1797, however, he succeeded in placing 490 acres under wheat and maize.
- 14 This Order will be found in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.71.

CHAPTER II

- 1 This was Hunter's second trip to the Hawkesbury. Descriptions of this and the previous visit are in Hunter to Banks, 20 Aug. 1796, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, pp.12 ff; Hunter to Portland, 10 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.19.
- 2 The order relating to the settlers' debts was dated 21 December 1796 and is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.71.
- 3 Hunter himself described the bushfires at some length and it is probably upon the Governor's letters that Collins' picture is based (Hunter to Banks, 30 March 1797, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, pp.19-20; Hunter to Portland, 10 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.19-20).
- 4 Wages had been considered high for some time and it is surprising that the issue had not been raised earlier. For Hunter's views see Hunter to Portland, 20 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.23-4; also Government and General Orders, 14 Jan. 1797, 10 March 1797, 14 April 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.73,75,78.
- 5 This was a gross exaggeration. The obstacles confronting the settlers were far greater than Collins indicated. Most owned only small farms and even where the quality of the soil was good it deteriorated due to the lack of manure and over-cropping. The farmers were mainly men of few means who operated on so narrow a margin that one poor season could ruin them. Some were

worthless, but this was not the only factor which prevented them making a success of farming.

- 6 Spain declared war on Britain in October 1796.
- 7 For Johnson's views on the state of education see, Johnson to S.P.G., 1 Dec. 1796, *HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.184.
- 8 Laurence Davoren was born in Ireland in 1762 and sentenced at Dublin in February 1791 to transportation for life. He arrived on the *Boddingtons* in August 1793 and remained on the mainland until 1797 when he was sent to Norfolk Island as punishment for forgery. Although it was intended that he stay there for life he returned to Port Jackson, probably in 1806. On 14 September 1806 he was found guilty of receiving two stolen promissory notes and was sent to the penal settlement at Newcastle. After the Rum Rebellion he printed anonymously *A New Song* bitterly attacking those who overthrew Bligh. Under Macquarie he was employed as a clerk in the office of the Superintendent of Police, but on 4 September 1813 was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for libel. This was his last offence and it seems probable that he left for England in June 1814. His family connections cannot be traced, but he claimed to have a daughter who was married to the son of a major-general, and a son who was an officer in the service of the East India Company (G. Mackaness ed. '*A New Song*' made in New South Wales on the Rebellion by Laurence Davoren), Sydney, 1951; the account of the trial to which Collins referred is in Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb.1788-Dec.1797, pp.622-36).

CHAPTER III

- 1 Between 2 February and 14 February 1797 some 70 cases of debt were heard by the Civil Court and the total sum exceeded £2,157. A further 24 cases were heard on 15 February involving rather more than £862 (Court of Civil Jurisdiction, Rough Minutes of Proceedings and Related Case Papers, 1 July 1788-11 August 1801, pp.177-80). Hunter was deeply concerned at the plight of the settlers (Hunter to Portland, 20 Aug. 1796, *HRA*, Vol. I, p.596; Hunter to Portland, 20 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.23).
- 2 Hunter had complained about this matter in March 1796, but it was not until May 1799 that he received the lists showing the terms for which Irish convicts had been sentenced (Hunter to Portland, 3 Mar. 1796, *HRA*, Vol. I, p.555; Portland to Hunter 2 Mar. 1797, Hunter to Portland, 25 June 1797, Portland to Hunter 18 Sept. 1798, Hunter to Portland, 1 Nov. 1798, Government and General Order 10 May 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.9, 31, 228-29, 237, 366).
- 3 The books to which Collins referred have not survived and were probably taken to England by Hunter. In June 1797 the Governor stated that the number off the store was 700 (Hunter to Portland, 20 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.24).
- 4 The trial of Samuel Mobbs was held on 11 March 1797 and his accomplice, who turned King's evidence, was Samuel Hill. Mobbs had originally been sentenced in England on 6 March 1787 and arrived on the *Matilda* in August 1791 to serve a seven-year sentence (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb. 1788-Dec. 1797, pp.651-8; Mutch Index).

- 5 This trial was held on 1 March 1797 and the men sentenced to transportation for breaking the peace were: John Wilson, William Barr and John Moss. A fourth person, Isaac Cawdon, was given 500 lashes (*ibid.*, pp.643-50).
- 6 The list and the Order which accompanied it, dated 10 March 1797, is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.75. Collins' transcription was accurate except that he gave the price of splitting five-foot paling as 1s 6d, whereas it was 2s 0d in the original. He also omitted the price of splitting paling three feet long, which was quoted as 1s 6d a piece.
- 7 The Order governing the use of passports is in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.76-7.
- 8 The Northern Boundary farms were about one mile to the north of Parramatta.

CHAPTER IV

- 1 In the original edition a wrong page was cited.
- 2 Cape Three Points was at the northern entrance to Broken Bay. It was sighted and named by Cook on 7 May 1770 (J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Voyage of the Endeavour*, p.313).
- 3 The shoal was Middleton Shoal and it had been sighted by Lieutenant Shortland on July 20 1788 while returning to England. The *Golden Grove* sighted what was believed to be the same shoal in October 1788, and not 1786 as Collins stated (Phillip, p.133; Bradley, p.163).
- 4 The Order relating to this matter is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.78 and is dated 11 April 1797.
- 5 The Order incorporating these provisions, dated 14 April 1797, is in *ibid.*, p.78.
- 6 Duck River, or Creek, is located at Parramatta.
- 7 The British government had been anxious to encourage marines to enlist in the New South Wales Corps instead of returning to England at the end of their three-year tour of duty. Those who did so were promised double the amount of land to which they would have been entitled had they become settlers immediately. They were also offered a bounty of £3 each and more than the usual amount of assistance in farming their land. The additional period for which they were obliged to serve, however, was five years, not three as Collins stated (Grenville to Phillip, 22 Aug. 1789, Enc., *HRA*, Vol. I, p.125).
- 8 The tree that had bark useful for cordage is rather a mystery. It is unlikely to have been a species of *Eucalyptus* because their bark fibres when separated, do not hang together. The heights given would be appropriate for either *Brachychiton acerifolium* (the Illawarra flame-tree) or *Brachyton populneum* (the kurrajong), both of which yielded bark fibres useful for cordage to the early settlers—especially *B. acerifolium*. These two species are reported to have been used by the Aborigines for making fish nets etc. It is doubtful if these species occur on the Hawkesbury north of Sydney, but they were found on the upper Hawkesbury (Nepean), *B. populneum* being common around Kurrajong, as the name of the district implies. Other fibre-producing plants were *Commersonia fraseri* and *Hibiscus heterophyllus*, but these are shrubs or small trees at most. (This information kindly supplied by J.T. Waterhouse, School of Botany, University of New South Wales.)

- 9 The Criminal Court assembled on 11 April 1797. David Batty, a former convict who had been given a seven-year sentence at Westminster in July 1787, received further sentence of fourteen years at Norfolk Island. Four others (not three as Collins stated) were tried and each was given seven years. They were: James Bevan, William Owen, William Knight and James Edwards (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings Feb. 1788-Dec. 1797, pp.659-77).
- 10 The proclamation, dated 13 May 1797, named John Jeweson, Joseph Saunders, John Wilson and Moses Williams as the run-away convicts (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.79).
- 11 The *Sydney Cove* had sailed from Bengal on 10 November 1796 with a cargo which included 7,000 gallons of spirits as well as other merchandise. The vessel was commanded by Captain Guy Hamilton and was manned mainly by lascars (Hunter to Banks, 1 Aug. 1797, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, pp.33-37; Hunter to Portland, 6 July 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.82).
- 12 The vessel sprang a leak on 13 December 1796 after being struck by a severe gale. The leak could not be reached but the ship remained afloat and it was not until two further gales on 25 January and 8 February 1797 had been encountered that she was forced ashore. The island on which the crew landed was later named Preservation Island and was located in the Furneaux group 'Narrative of the Shipwreck of Captain Hamilton and the Crew of the Sydney Cove', *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.757-68).
- 13 The longboat sailed on 27 February under the command of the chief mate, Hugh Thompson, who was accompanied by W. Clark, the assistant supercargo, and fifteen of the best members of the crew. The boat followed a northerly course until 1 March when it was driven ashore by a gale and heavy seas. On 15 March the survivors set out overland for Port Jackson and what was left of the party, after an arduous journey and clashes with the natives, was met by a fishing boat on 14 April (*ibid.*, pp.760-8).
- 14 The girl who was burned to death was probably Elizabeth Pales, whose burial on 20 April 1797 was recorded in St Phillip's Register.
- 15 The officer was Ensign Birch, who was to die in August 1797.
- 16 The voyage of the *Britannia* (Thomas Dennott) has been described as one of the worst in the history of transportation (C. Bateson, *op.cit.*, p.160). The convicts were brutally treated, there was one death for each 17 embarked and the survivors were landed in an emaciated state. Hunter ordered a magistrates' enquiry into the conduct of the master, Captain Dennott, whose behaviour the magistrates considered imprudent and ill-judged (Hunter to Portland, 25 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.31-2; the proceedings of the Bench of Magistrates are in *ibid.*, 36 ff). The surgeon, Augustus Jacob Beyer, was also considered to have neglected his duty.
- 17 The quotation *Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis* comes from Virgil and may be translated as: Who can relate such woes without a tear.
- 18 At first Hunter had been reluctant to expand the area farmed by Government because he did not wish to harm private settlers. By early 1797, however, he had changed his opinion. The expense of administering the settlement had increased since he took command and by ensuring that convicts raised their own food, costs could be reduced. Moreover, Hunter no longer looked so

- favourably on private settlers. The emancipists he considered to be mainly of poor calibre and the officer-farmers he regarded as selfish and avaricious. In March 1797 he informed Sir Joseph Banks of his intention to re-establish the government as a major food-producer and in the following June promised the Duke of Portland that there would soon be no need to purchase foodstuff. However, his plans were frustrated by a labour shortage (Hunter to Banks, 30 March 1797, Letters of Governor Hunter, p.29; Hunter to Sydney, 30 July 1797, Dixon Library, Add.285; Hunter to King, 1 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.11; King to Portland, 28 Sept. 1800, *ibid.*, p.607).
- 19 Portland Place was located on the south-west corner of the Parish of St John (J. Jervis, 'The Beginnings of Settlement in the Parish of St John, New South Wales', *JRAHS*, Vol. 19, 1933, Pt.2, pp.127-8). Bentinck, William Henry Cavendish, Third Duke of Portland (1738-1809), was twice Prime Minister and was Secretary of State for Home Affairs and the Colonies from 1794 to 1801 (*DNB*, Vol. IV, pp.302-4).
 - 20 Collins was here echoing the views of Governor Phillip (Phillip to Grenville, 5 Nov. 1791, Phillip to Dundas, 19 Mar. 1792, *HRA*, Vol. I, pp.272, 338).

CHAPTER V

- 1 The *Francis* and the *Eliza* had anchored off Preservation Island on 10 June 1797 and sailed for Port Jackson eleven days later. Both vessels were overtaken by a violent storm and were separated. The *Eliza* was never sighted again (Narrative of the Shipwreck of Captain Hamilton . . . , *HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.760; Kent to Nepean, 19 Nov. 1797, Hunter to Nepean, 3 Sept. 1798, *ibid.*, pp.308-9, 474).
- 2 These totals were incorrect. The figures were: 66 cows, seven calves, seven mares, 121 sheep (Hunter to Portland, 6 July 1799, Enc.2, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.68).
- 3 John Lanigan Birch was buried at St Phillip's, Sydney on 7 July 1797 (St Phillip's Register, p.101).
- 4 The coal was located south of Sydney, at Coalcliff. Bass, more optimistic about the discovery than was Collins, pointed out that 'in summer when the sea and land breezes are regular, and gales of wind uncommon, a boat might lie there for several days together, and, of course, in that time load a large craft' (Bass to Paterson, 20 Aug. 1797, *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.289-90; Hunter to Banks, 15 Aug. 1797, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, pp.40-2).
- 5 The Criminal Court in fact met twice in August 1797, on the 5th and 18th of the month. On 18 August three people were tried for theft and sentenced to seven years on Norfolk Island. They were: William Kimber, Charles Freeman and Charles Burn (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb.1788-Dec.1797, pp.689-734).
- 6 For a more detailed account of the discovery of the Hunter River and a sketch by John Shortland see, G. Mackaness, 'The Discovery of the Hunter River', *JRAHS*, Vol. 16, 1930, Pt.2, pp.166-9; also 'Eye Sketch of Hunter's River by John Shortland', Banks Papers, Vol. 19, p.63.
- 7 The liquor trade brought much harm, but Collins, like other contemporaries, was exaggerating when he attributed every crime and disease to this source.

- 8 Hunter described this expedition in a letter to Banks dated 12 March 1798, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, pp.48-9.

CHAPTER VI

- 1 For an account of this episode involving William Bryant (not Bryan) and others see Volume I, pp.128 ff.
- 2 See the Government and General Order of 9 October 1797 in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.203-4.
- 3 The Criminal Court met on 9 October, 18 October and 24 October.
- 4 The two men who were tried for allegedly killing a native youth were William Millar and Thomas Bevan. According to the Court records they were acquitted for lack of evidence (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb. 1788-Dec. 1797, p.738).
- 5 For the trial of William Morris see *ibid.*, pp.757-61. No details are available concerning the background of John Morris, but Charles Martin had been sentenced at Middlesex Assizes on 19 March 1787 and arrived on the *Neptune* in June 1790 to serve a 14-year sentence (Mutch Index).
- 6 The forger was William Cherry who was sentenced to death, but with a recommendation of mercy (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb. 1788-Dec. 1797, pp.753-5). The two men sentenced for theft were Robert Williams and James Edwards.
- 7 The trial in question was that of Morris. The case of those who committed perjury was heard on 24 October 1797 (*ibid.*, pp.763-9).
- 8 Luke Normington had been sentenced at York on 23 March 1790 and arrived on the *William and Ann* in August 1791. John Colley and William Osborne had been sentenced at the Old Bailey on 27 February 1788 and 10 September 1788, respectively. Both arrived in June 1790, the former on the *Surprise* and the latter on the *Neptune*. Like Normington, each had been given a seven-year sentence (Mutch Index).
- 9 The Government and General Order, dated 28 October 1797, is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.205.
- 10 The Government and General Order of 6 November 1797 is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.206.
- 11 This order will be found in *ibid.*, pp.206-7.
- 12 Wilson's name was really John. See also Note 3, Chapter VIII, Volume II.
- 13 This was the Lyrebird (A.H. Chisholm, *The Romance of the Lyrebird*, Sydney, 1960; also A.H. Chisholm, 'How and When the Lyrebird was Discovered', *JRAHS*, Vol.43, Pt.4, 1957, p.175).
- 14 The Reverend Richard Johnson's assistant cannot be identified with any certainty, but there was in the colony a teacher named Stephen Barnes, who was popularly known as the 'parson's clerk'. Possibly this was the man to whom Collins referred. Barnes had been sentenced at York in July 1783 to seven years for theft and arrived on the *Alexander* (J.P. McGuanne, 'Early Schools of New South Wales', *JRAHS*, Vol.2, 1906, Pt.2, p.70; J. Copley, *The Crimes of the First Fleet Convicts*, p.16).
- 15 Collins had earlier referred to Brock as Birch. The name recorded in St Phillip's Register, p.101, was Brock.

- 16 The animal was the wombat.
- 17 For a description of the method of life-saving as recommended by the Royal Humane Society see Volume I, n.5, Ch.IX.

CHAPTER VII

- 1 John Mitcham was in fact able to identify one of his assailants, but the man he accused, John Worster, was found not guilty. Details of the case were given in a Government and General Order of 22 December 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.208; see also Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb. 1788-Dec. 1797, pp.828-32).
- 2 See also the Government and General Order of 22 December 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.208.
- 3 See the Government and General Order of 2 December 1797, *ibid.*, 207.
- 4 The schools came under the control of their founder, the Reverend Richard Johnson, and were conducted by three former convicts, William Richardson, Isaac Nelson and Thomas Taber (J.F. Cleverley, *The First Generation, School and Society in Early Australia*, Sydney, 1971, p.30; also J.P. McGuanne, 'Early Schools of New South Wales', *JRAHS*, Vol.2, 1906, Pt.3, pp.70 ff; E.C. Rowland, 'Early Schools in New South Wales', *ibid.*, Vol.33, 1947, Pt.5, pp.296-7).
- 5 The settler who died was William Crew who had received a grant of 30 acres at the Flats on the south side of the harbour on 9 December 1794 (St Phillip's Register, p.102).
- 6 The accused was Thomas Bannister, a labourer, who was tried on 29 December 1797 for the murder of John Coulson, formerly a private in the New South Wales Corps. He was found not guilty (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Feb.1788-Dec.1797, pp.814-26).
- 7 Comparison of the figures cited here with those given by Collins in 1796 shows an increase of 27 horses, 2378 hogs, 926 sheep and 849 goats. The number of cattle had not changed.
- 8 These details were based on an official return dated 19 August 1797. This showed how much of the land and livestock belonged respectively to government and private settlers. It also gave the total number of ewes as 1704 and not 1714. The area sown with potatoes was 11 acres, while that under vines amounted to 8½ acres (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.287; another copy of this return, distinguishing between the possessions of government and those of private settlers, is in J. Hunter, Letters, Dixson Library, Add.285).

CHAPTER VIII

- 1 Additional information on attempted escapes is in Hunter to Sydney, 15 May 1798, Dixson Library, Add.285.
- 2 The names of the convicts who returned from the expedition are not known, but amongst those who resolved to persevere was the former convict, John Wilson, who had lived amongst the blacks, and John Price, aged 19, who had come to the colony as Governor Hunter's servant. The 'foot of the first mountains' reached by the original party has been described as being

- 'somewhere between the Nepean and where Picton is now situated' (R.H. Cambage, 'Exploration Beyond the Upper Nepean in 1798', *JRAHS*, Vol.6, 1920, Pt.1, pp.1-36; Hunter to Portland, 15 Feb. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.128-31).
- 3 Owen Cavenagh (1762-1841), had come as a seaman on the *Sirius*. He was given a 60-acre grant at Norfolk Island in April 1791 by Governor Phillip, but later returned to the mainland and was given 100 acres of land at the Hawkesbury where he settled with his wife and a family that eventually totalled seven children. He died, aged 79, on 27 November 1841 (Mutch Index, Mitchell Library; 1828 Census; *HRA*, Vol. I, p.279).
 - 4 This was John, or James, Wilson, a former mariner who had probably received a seven year sentence at Wigan on 10 October 1785. He arrived with the First Fleet and spent much time with the Aborigines after completing his sentence. He was the guide and bushman of the party which explored as far as the Mittagong region in January 1798 (*ADB*, Vol.2).
 - 5 The officiating magistrates were the Reverend Richard Johnson and Dr William Balmain, who had been appointed on 17 September 1796 (Government and General Order, 17 September 1796, *HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.137).
 - 6 Hunter had begun the settlement of the George's River in April 1797, when he had given grants there to some of the marines who had completed a tour of duty with the New South Wales Corps (Hunter to Portland, 10 Jan. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.117).
 - 7 This presumably is a misprint for 'Lord'.
 - 8 The clock had been brought to the colony aboard the *Reliance* on 26 June 1797. A square tower was built to house it on the brow of Church Hill and this building was also used as an observatory (F. Walker, 'The First Public Clock in Sydney', in C.H. Bertie, ed., *Peeps at the Past*, Sydney, 1914, pp.49-50).

CHAPTER IX

- 1 There is no record of this particular 'infamous paper', but one had earlier been circulated in June 1797 and this may have been the one to which Collins referred (Hunter to King, 1 June 1797, Hunter to Portland, 6 July 1797, Government and General Order, 21 June 1797, *HRNSW*, Vol.III, pp.213-4, 231, 239-40). It is possible that Thomas Fyshe Palmer and his associates were implicated in this attack on Hunter. Palmer wrote letters to his friends in London criticising Hunter's administration. Some of these were published anonymously as broadsheets by the Reverend John Disney. Others appeared in the *Monthly Magazine*. One such letter, dated 14 August 1797, alleged that 'the greatest and most extortionate shop in the colony has been that of government house', although the degree of Hunter's involvement was left vague (see the article on T.F. Palmer in *ADB*, Vol.2; also *Monthly Magazine*, Vol.XII, 1817, p.265).
- 2 Hunter's servant was for long believed to have been a man named Barracks, but research showed that he was in fact John Price. Collins' account of the expedition is largely a summary of Price's journal which Governor Hunter had taken to England and given to Sir Joseph Banks. The original was later

- acquired by the Mitchell Library where it is preserved. Apart from its importance in the history of exploration it is also of significance to naturalists. It contains the first written reference to the existence of the wombat on the mainland as well as the first account of the existence of the koala and the discovery of the lyrebird (A.H. Chisholm, 'How and when the Lyrebird was discovered', *The Emu*, Vol.55, Mar. 1955, Pt.1, pp.1-5; A.H. Chisholm, *The Romance of the Lyrebird*, Sydney, 1960; M.H. Ellis, 'The Haunted Expeditions', *The Bulletin*, 8 July 1953, p.25; R.H. Cabbage, 'Exploration Beyond the Upper Nepean in 1798', *JRAHS*, Vol. 6, 1920, Pt.1, pp.1ff).
- 3 Mount Hunter was located about five miles to the south-west of Camden (R.H. Cabbage, *op.cit.*, p.3).
 - 4 The party crossed the Nepean somewhere below its junction with Carriage Creek, between Douglas Park and Maldon (*ibid.*, p.3).
 - 5 The 'pheasants' were in fact lyrebirds (*Menura superba*) and the kangaroos were, in Cabbage's opinion, rock wallabies (*Petrogale penicillata*) (*ibid.*, p.3).
 - 6 It has been estimated that on this day they passed about three miles west of Wilton and to the east of Round Hill (*ibid.*, p.4).
 - 7 This was probably *Smilax australis* (*ibid.*, p.7).
 - 8 It seems probable that the party passed through a portion of the Bargo brush. The small river may have been at the head of the Bargo to the north east of Colo Vale. The limestone was probably syenite and the coal may have been located just north of Mittagong, rather than in the spot indicated. The scientific name for the black wattle is *Acacia decurrens* (*ibid.*, p.7).
 - 9 On this day the explorers travelled along the western side of the Cannabagel Plains and may have passed close to the site of Mittagong. They went through the gap to the hills lying west of Bowral and travelled north of Oxley's Hill, then on to the head of Joadja Creek (*ibid.*, p.9).
 - 10 This tree is known as the Argyle apple (*Eucalyptus cinerea*), (*ibid.*, p.12).
 - 11 This was the Wollondilly River and the terminal point of the expedition was a hillside overlooking this river at Bullio.
 - 12 This is a reference to the open country north of Berrima.
 - 13 These 'meadows' were situated in the country around Bong Bong between Bowral and Moss Vale and towards the Wingecarribee Swamp (*ibid.*, p.15).
 - 14 These ponds were formed in the Wingecarribee River where the stream was blocked by swamps.
 - 15 This is the first description in any book of the famous superb lyrebird (*Menura superba*), a specimen of which, discovered by the Wilson expedition, had been sent to England by Hunter and scientifically described, in 1798, by Major-General T. Davies. To the colonists the species became known as the New South Wales bird of paradise, the native pheasant, the Blue Mountains pheasant etc. In England and on the Continent, where it aroused much interest, it was given numbers of scientific names. Collins himself did not know the bird; his information came from Hunter (A.H. Chisholm, *The Romance of the Lyrebird*, Sydney, 1960).
 - 16 The artist cannot be identified. For a discussion of the background to early drawings of the lyrebird see A.H. Chisholm, *op.cit.*, pp.36-50.
 - 17 The two gentlemen were the Reverend Samuel Marsden and Surgeon Thomas Arndell, both of whom had conducted an earlier enquiry into the

- plight of the settlers in September 1796 (Hunter to Marsden, 19 Feb. 1798, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 12, p.85; Hunter to Portland, 2 March 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.135).
- 18 Hunter appears to be contradicting himself. According to Collins he had told the settlers that 'he was unable to suggest any remedy' until he knew what their grievances were. Yet, he also claimed to have made proposals to the Secretary of State 'for their benefit'. He was probably referring to the suggestion which he had earlier made for the creation of a Government retail store from which settlers could obtain their wants at more reasonable rates than prevailed on the open market (Hunter to King, 30 April 1796, *HRA*, Vol. I, p.565; Hunter to Portland, 10 June 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.19).
 - 19 Bass's epic journey of 1,200 miles in a whaleboat had started on 3 December 1797 and terminated on 25 February 1798. In the course of his voyage he discovered and named the Shoalhaven River, reported on Jervis Bay and Bateman's Bay and discovered Twofold Bay, Wilson's Promontory and Western Port. He was also convinced that he had found a strait between Van Diemen's Land and the mainland (Hunter to Banks, 12 March 1798, Letters of Governor Hunter 1795-1802, p.49; Hunter to Portland, 1 March 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.132-3; the Journal kept by Bass on his voyage is reprinted in *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.312-33; K.M. Bowden, *George Bass 1771-1803. His Discoveries, Romantic Life and Tragic Disappearance*, Oxford, 1952).
 - 20 The harbour was Western Port.
 - 21 Matthew Flinders (1774-1814) had arrived in New South Wales as a midshipman on the *Reliance* in 1795 and by 1798 had already accompanied Bass on two expeditions in an open boat. The first was to Botany Bay and the second was to Lake Illawarra. For his life and work as an explorer see *ADB*, Vol. 1; H.M. Cooper, *The Unknown Coast*, Adelaide, 1955; E. Hill, *My Love Must Wait*, Sydney, 1941; E. Scott, *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders*, Sydney, 1914.

CHAPTER X

- 1 Records of these sessions of the Civil Court have not survived.
- 2 Six petitions were received from the Sydney and Parramatta settlers and a detailed report on their condition was drawn up by Marsden and Arndell. These documents painted a gloomy picture of farmers sunk in ruin and misery. Most of Phillip's grantees had abandoned their land and others were heavily in debt. Some contemporaries attributed this to the improvidence of the settlers, but Marsden and Arndell considered that the plight of smallholders was a result of the high price of merchandise and the high level of wages. For a detailed discussion of the situation see B.H. Fletcher, 'The Development of Small Scale Farming in New South Wales under Governor Hunter', *JRAHS*, Vol.50, 1964, Pt.1, pp.1-30; the settlers' petitions are in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.136ff and C.O.201/123, f.616 ff).
- 3 The first wombat had been brought from an island in Bass Strait by the *Francis* and presented to Governor Hunter in July 1797. Wilson's wombat was one of a larger species (*Vombatus hirsutus*). He had discussed it with his companions on

- 26 January 1798 and his reference was the first allusion to such an animal on the mainland (*Australian Encyclopedia*, Vol.9, pp.345-6).
- 4 The Government and General Order of 8 December 1795 will be found in *HRA*, Vol. I, p.683.
- 5 No record of the trial of these men has been preserved. The two who were executed for attempting to escape were Michael Gibson and Jonathan Boroughbridge (St Phillip's Register, p.78).
- 6 The Order of 19 January 1798 is printed in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.209-210.
- 7 George Mitton and John Robley had originally been sentenced to life terms, the former at the Old Bailey on 8 December 1790 and the latter at Middlesex on 9 September 1789. Robley's wife was Jemina Robley (*Mutch Index*).
- 8 James Williamson (1758-1826) accompanied Hunter to the colony and on the Governor's recommendation was appointed Acting-Commissary while John Palmer was on leave.
- 9 This expedition went in the same direction as the one which had left Mount Hunter on 24 January 1798, but continued on through Berrima, reaching as far as Mount Towrang near present-day Goulburn. On Hunter's orders, the explorers kept a daily record of their travels. This was later presented to Sir Joseph Banks by Hunter and is now preserved in the Mitchell Library (Hunter to Portland, 1 March 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.134; Hunter to Banks, 29 July 1801, Banks Papers, Vol.4, p.12; A.H. Chisholm, 'How and When the Lyrebird was discovered', *The Emu*, Vol.55, Mar.1955, Pt.1, pp.1-5; R.H. Cambage, 'Exploration Beyond the Upper Nepean in 1798', *JRAHS*, Vol.VI, 1920, Pt.1, pp. 1ff.).
- 10 No copy of this petition has survived, but judging by Collins' summary of its contents it expressed views similar to those of the petitions of February 1798. Collins' account is based at this point on Hunter's Order of 21 April 1798, which is printed in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.212-3.
- 11 This is the first reference Collins made to such practices, although they must have been common when he was in the colony. Collins' treatment was based on Hunter's Order of 23 April 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.213. For a discussion of monopolistic practices in the commissariat see B.H. Fletcher, 'The development of small scale farming in New South Wales under Governor Hunter', *JRAHS*, Vol.50, 1964, Pt.1, pp.1-30.
- 12 The storekeeper responsible for this malpractice was William Baker, who owned property at the Hawkesbury. Acting Commissary Williamson gave the number of monopolists as three, but Hunter said there were four. Neither, however, described them as 'opulent traders'. Hunter simply referred to them as 'persons', while Williamson called them 'individuals' (Hunter to Portland, 5 Jan. 1800, Encs. 1, 2 and 3, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.431-2).
- 13 It has not been found possible to identify the old prophetess.

CHAPTER XI

- 1 For an account of Hunter's police reforms see the Government Orders of 9 November 1796 and 30 November 1796, *HRA*, Vol. I, pp.701-2, *HRA*, Vol. II,

- p.69; Hunter to Portland, 30 Apr. 1796, *HRA*, Vol. I, pp.566-7; T. O'Callaghan, 'The Police Establishment in New South Wales', *JRAHS*, Vol.9, 1923, Pt.6, pp.277-82.
- 2 The missionaries had been sent to Tahiti by the London Missionary Society in 1797. Amongst those who came to New South Wales were Samuel Hugh Clode, who was later murdered, James Fleet Cover, Edward Main, Francis Oakes, Rowland Hassall, Henry Williams, Peter Hodges, John Cock, James Puckey, William Puckey and William Smith. Some returned to England, but others remained as settlers. Of the latter, the most prominent was Rowland Hassall (1768-1820), who became a leading trader and pastoralist as well as a government official. Articles on Cover, Hassall, Main and Oakes will be found in *ADB*, Vols.1 and 2; also G. Lindsay Lockley, 'Edward Main', *Proc. Tasmanian Historical Research Assoc.*, Vol.9, 1961, pp.109-10; in general see *Narrative of the Mission at Otaheite and other Islands in the South Seas . . .* London, 1818; 'Two Narratives concerning the experiences of missionaries and their flight to Port Jackson', Haweis Papers, Mitchell Library, pp.91-114; Bonwick Transcripts, Missionary, Vol. I, Box 49).
 - 3 The *Barwell* had sailed from Portsmouth with 296 convicts on 7 November 1797. Soon after leaving the Cape of Good Hope there was an alleged mutiny which failed. After reaching the colony, Ensign Bond, supposedly one of the ringleaders, was charged by a fellow officer, Ensign Bayley, but at the request of his fellow officers Bond was allowed to resign his commission, thus escaping punishment. He was also acquitted of charges made by Captain Cameron of the *Barwell*, who brought him before the Vice-Admiralty Court (Hunter to Portland, 12 Sept. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.224-5; C. Bateson, *op.cit.*, pp.165-7). The British authorities, however, objected to his resignation because it was made with the object of escaping a court-martial and ordered him to return home (Portland to Hunter, 5 Nov. 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.391).
 - 4 The *Lady Shore* had left Portsmouth in May 1797 carrying two male and 66 female convicts and a detachment of the New South Wales Corps under Ensign William Minchin. Amongst the men were deserters and prisoners from the Savoy Military Prison. Although they had caused trouble even before sailing, the War Office did nothing to prevent further outbreaks even after General Grose, who had conducted an enquiry, forecast a mutiny. On 1 August 1797, shortly after leaving Rio de Janeiro, the ship was seized by soldiers and members of the crew. A fortnight later the mutineers placed 29 officers and men in a longboat; this reached the Rio Grande on 17 August after a three-day voyage. The *Lady Shore* entered Monte Video harbour on 28 August and the male mutineers were made prisoners-of-war, while the female convicts became servants. The vessel was later sold for £40,000 (J. Black, *An Authentic Narrative of the Mutiny on board the ship Lady Shore*, London, 1798; M. Austin, 'William Minchin of the New South Wales Corps', *JRAHS*, Vol.50, 1964, Pt.6, pp.415-9).
 - 5 Richard Dore (1749-1800), had received his commission as Judge-Advocate on 9 September 1797 following the resignation of Collins, who deliberately stepped down so that an appointment could be made. Unlike his predecessor, and also unlike Richard Atkins who had temporarily filled the position since Collins' departure, Dore was a lawyer by profession. Partly because of this,

- partly because of warm personal regard, Hunter welcomed his arrival and appointed him as his secretary. He soon claimed, however, that Dore was not behaving impartially on the bench and relations between the two men deteriorated. Early in 1799 Dore was removed from his position as secretary and Hunter bitterly complained to the British authorities concerning his behaviour as Judge-Advocate. Before any action was taken Dore, who had arrived in ill-health, died on 13 December 1800 (Hunter to Portland, 21 Feb. 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.244-78; *ADB*, Vol. I; K.G. Allars, 'Richard Dore Re-Examined', *JRAHS*, Vol. 50, 1964, Pt.1, pp.117-29).
- 6 Hunter, following the precedent established by Grose and Paterson, had originally allowed the officers ten government-maintained labourers and three domestic servants each. The British authorities ordered the Governor to reduce the number to two but Hunter delayed implementing this order because he believed that by encouraging the officers the colony would more rapidly become self-sufficient in meat and grain. By 1798, however, he had come to view the officer-farmers as avaricious and self-seeking and he was also concerned at the rising cost of administration. Hence he no longer objected to taking convicts away from the officers (B.H. Fletcher, 'The Development of small-scale farming under Governor Hunter', *JRAHS*, Vol.50, 1964, Pt.1, pp.1-30; the Government Order on which Collins based his information is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.215).
 - 7 On 14 February 1797 John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent (1735-1823), had defeated the Spanish fleet at the battle of St. Vincent off the coast of Portugal. He fought against heavy odds and for his brilliant victory was made an Earl (*DNB*, Vol. XXIX, pp.355-63).
 - 8 Adam Duncan (1731-1804) was made a Viscount for defeating the Dutch fleet under Admiral Johann Wilhelm De Winter at Camperdown on 11 October 1797, thereby frustrating a French invasion of Ireland under General Lazare Hoche (*DNB*, Vol. XVI, pp.159-61).
 - 9 The Norfolk Island settlers had complained of having to pay exorbitant rates for the goods sent there by overseas merchants and sought permission to construct a vessel on which they could import goods at more moderate rates (Hunter to Townson, 25 April 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.121-5).
 - 10 This Proclamation is printed in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.125-6.
 - 11 Amongst the free settlers were: John Bowman who came with his wife, two sons and a daughter; Andrew McDougall, his wife, four sons and a daughter, and John Smith, who brought his wife, three sons and a daughter (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.285; on Bowman see *ADB*, Vol. I).
 - 12 The missionaries Edward Main, Rowland Hassall, Francis Oakes and James Cover each received 100 acres at Dundas. Of the free settlers, Bowman went to Mulgrave Place on the Hawkesbury, McDougall and Smith to Toongabbie (H.J. Rumsey, 'Some Notes on the Early History of Dundas', *JRAHS*, Vol. III, 1915, Pts 1 and 2, pp.25-31, 33-40; H.H. Rumsey, 'The First Ten Years in the History of Dundas', *Parramatta and District Historical Society, Jnl and Proc.*, Vol.3, 1926, pp.13-8).
 - 13 The *Hunter* had left Calcutta in April 1798 bringing Robert Campbell, partner in the firm of Campbell and Clarke, who became the first free merchant to establish a business in the colony (M. Steven, *Merchant Campbell 1769-1846*, A

Study in Colonial Trade, Melbourne, 1965; C.E.T. Newman, *The Spirit of Wharf House*, Sydney, 1961).

- 14 This information comes from the Government and General Order of 9 June 1798 (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.215). The measure in fact brought little benefit to the settlers because those who had previously exploited them found ways of evading it (B.H. Fletcher, 'The development of small-scale farming under Governor Hunter', *JRAHS*, Vol.50, 1964, Pt.1, pp.18-20).
- 15 The information in this paragraph comes from the Government and General Order, 18 June 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.216.
- 16 This was the 25-ton sloop *Norfolk* in which Flinders was to circumnavigate Van Diemen's Land later in 1798 (*HRA*, Vol. II, Note 62, p.716).

CHAPTER XII

- 1 Maskelyne Point is now known as Dawes Point.
- 2 Hunter's report on the Fraternal Society and the Proclamation he issued to the Norfolk Island settlers are in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.158-60.
- 3 John Raynor had received a seven-year sentence at Cambridge on 16 March 1789 and arrived on the *Matilda* in August 1791. His trial in the colony took place on 26 July 1798, when he was charged with having stolen goods from a fellow resident, John Glade, and from a settler named John Machin. At the same session of the court two other colonists, Frances Moreton, a female convict, and Edward Toon, a private in the New South Wales Corps, were also tried and found guilty of theft (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Jan. 1798-June 1800, p.6/2).
- 4 This Order was dated 1 August 1798 and is in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.218-9; see also Bench of Magistrates, Meetings of Magistrates commencing 13 June 1798, p.32.
- 5 The government permitted the officers to have only two convicts maintained at public expense.
- 6 The Order relating to Sunday observance is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.357.
- 7 A rebellion had in fact broken out in Ireland early in 1798, but by the time the *Pomona* and *Diana* reached Port Jackson the authorities had matters well in hand and the rebels had been defeated near Ballinahinch (12 June) and at Vinegar Hill (21 June). A small French force landed at Killala, County Mayo on 22 August, but this was soon defeated (W.H. Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* . . . , London, 1877; Hon. T. Pakenham, *The year of Liberty; the story of the great Irish Rebellion*, London, 1969).
- 8 When on the return trip from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Jackson in April 1789, John Hunter, who was then in command of the *Sirius*, had conjectured that there was 'either a very deep gulf or a straight' (*sic*) separating Van Diemen's Land from the mainland. Bass's discoveries on his voyage to the south from 3 December 1797 to 25 February 1798 strengthened Hunter's belief and prompted him to take steps to clear the matter up (Hunter to Portland, 1 Mar. 1798, Hunter to Nepean, 3 Sept. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.132-3, 220-1; J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal* . . . , p.86).
- 9 The Surveyor-General was Augustus Alt, whose house was located on his property, *Hermitage Farm*, at Petersham.

- 10 Hunter had received a proposal from the Bengal Military Department in May 1796 that recruits should be enlisted from among the emancipists for service in the Indian army. Two officers, Lieutenant Campbell and Surgeon Phillips, were sent to interview volunteers. Hunter, however, rejected this request because he feared that the colony would lose people of good character as well as settlers who might leave their families behind, thus creating burdens for the government. By June 1797 sufficient convicts had completed their sentences for some to be spared and Hunter recommended that the original offer be accepted, particularly as it might rid the colony of men who 'do much mischief'. The Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, concurred, but not so the Secretary for War, Henry Dundas, to whom the matter was also referred. At his instance Hunter's proposal was turned down and the Governor was obliged to write to India in the terms indicated by Collins (Hunter to Portland, 20 June 1797; Portland to Hunter, 30 Aug. 1797; *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.25, 88; Portland to Hunter, (?) Sept. 1797, *HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.301).
- 11 This information comes from the Government and General Order of 17 September 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.357-8.

CHAPTER XIII

- 1 This rumour proved to be misleading. There was no rupture between France and the United States.
- 2 The colony's three schoolmasters had been brought under one roof at the instigation of the Reverend Richard Johnson who was anxious for them 'to unite in their Endeavours for the better Improvement of their scholars'. After the fire, the school was moved first to the courthouse, and then, following complaints that the court proceedings interfered with its work, to a disused storehouse (J.F. Cleverley, *The First Generation*, pp.30-1).
- 3 The Order to which Collins referred was dated 27 August 1798 and is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.357.
- 4 The Order offering this reward is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.358.
- 5 This part of the sentence from the semi-colon was taken directly from Hunter to Portland, 1 November 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.236-7.
- 6 John Shortland junior (1769-1810), was the eldest son of Lieutenant John Shortland and had come to New South Wales as Master's mate on the *Sirius* in 1788. He left for England in 1792, returned to the colony with Hunter, and remained while he was Governor (*ADB*, Vol.2).
- 7 This Order, dated 4 October 1798, is in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.358-9.
- 8 This information is drawn from the Government and General Order of 30 October 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.359-60.
- 9 Unlike his predecessors, Hunter was a man of religious feeling and he considered it disgraceful that there was no 'proper building for the clergy to perform divine service in'. An acute labour shortage delayed his plans, with the result that by 1800 the two churches which were dedicated St Phillip's and St John's after the first two governors were by no means finished (F. Walker, 'Some Early Churches of New South Wales', *JRAHS*, Vol. 3, 1916, Pt.8, pp.437-8; Hunter to Portland, 10 Jan. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.120).
- 10 The Criminal Court met on 31 October 1798 and again on 1 November and 8

- November. William Thompson was tried for perjury committed in connection with the mutiny on the *Barwell* and was sentenced to stand in the pillory for one hour. The other men, John Barry and Patrick Clark, were tried for theft (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, Jan. 1798-June 1800, p.6/4).
- 11 Hunter also discussed the death of his servant (Hunter to Portland, 15 November 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.396).
 - 12 This paragraph is taken almost word for word from the Government and General Order of 7 November 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.360.
 - 13 Sandy Cape is the northernmost tip of what is now Fraser Island, just off the coast in southern Queensland.
 - 14 William Stephenson had been sentenced to life at the Middlesex Assizes on 9 September 1789 and arrived on the *Scarborough* on 28 June 1790. He had been appointed storekeeper by Hunter on 13 September 1796 (Mutch Index; *HRA*, Vol. I, p.698).
 - 15 The following constables were sworn in on 15 December 1798: William Roberts, James Everard, Richard Porter, and James Shephard (Minutes of the Proceedings of the Bench of Magistrates, 1798-1800, n.p.).
 - 16 These statistics are based on a return dated 23 August 1798, Enc.3, in Hunter to Portland, 20 Aug. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.198. Comparison of these figures with those for the preceding year confirms Collins' statement concerning the general increase, although the number of hogs and the area under maize had declined. Another copy of the return is in J. Hunter, Letters, Dixson Library, Add.285. This agrees with Collins' figures but distinguishes between the possessions of the government and those of private settlers.

CHAPTER XIV

- 1 A manuscript bearing on the cover the title 'Bass's Journal from Notes made on the Norfolk 1798-9' and inside, at the top of the first page the heading 'Journal describing Two-Fold Bay in New South Wales, Furneaux's Islands in Bass's Strait and the Coasts and Harbours of Van Dieman's (sic) Land from Notes made on Board the Colonial Sloop Norfolk in 1798 and 1799', is held in the Mitchell Library. Whether this was the copy from which Collins worked is not known, but comparison between his own pages and those of the manuscript is illuminating. He omitted only brief passages, changed the tense from present to past and the person from first to third. Matthew Flinders referred the readers of his book, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, to Collins' treatment of Bass's expedition, and omitted the latter's observations from his own work on the grounds that they had already been published by Collins (M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australia*, Vol. 1, London, 1814, p.cxxxviii). Flinders kept his own account of the voyage he made in the *Norfolk* with Bass and published this under his own name (M. Flinders, *Observations on the Coast of Van Diemen's Land*, London, 1801). This work was edited and reprinted by G. Mackaness under the title, *Flinders' Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen's Land*, Sydney, 1946. The same journal will also be found in *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.769 ff. Collins had evidently seen Flinders' *Observations* and in parts he supplemented Bass's journal with excerpts from Flinders.

- 2 The *Norfolk* sailed not 'about' 7 October but actually on that date.
- 3 Bass had previously visited Twofold Bay between 15 and 16 February 1797 (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.329).
- 4 For another detailed account of the exploration of Twofold Bay see that by Flinders in *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.770-1.
- 5 This is a basic reference to the spiny anteater (sometimes termed echidna), *Tachyglossus aculeatus*, which although differing drastically in outward appearance from the platypus is also a monotreme. It is still common in various parts of Australia and there is also a species in New Guinea (A.H. Chisholm).
- 6 According to A.H. Chisholm this bird is now termed the eastern swamphen, but the name redbill is still often used. The species is common in many parts of Australia.
- 7 Immediately after this reference to the birds Bass had a sentence, omitted by Collins, which read: 'The beaches are admirably adapted for Seine hauling, and the Bay, from the success that was met with by hooks and lines, seems to be well stocked with fish' (Bass, Journal, p.4).
- 8 In the manuscript this sentence read: 'Perhaps subterraneous or volcanic fires can alone solve the difficulty' (Bass, p.6).
- 9 In the manuscript the word 'mass' was followed by the paragraph four, below, which begins 'The vegetation on the island seems brown and starved'.
- 10 This paragraph and the two that precede it are not in the manuscript. Their source cannot be determined, but it is possible that Collins used another, and somewhat fuller version of this work than the one which has survived.
- 11 This paragraph is in the surviving copy of Bass's Journal, but the next eight paragraphs do not appear in that work.
- 12 The 'petrefactions' described from the bottom of p.107 to p.109 are common along the southern coastline of Australia on inshore sand deposits. These structures of course are not petrifications but calcareous deposits formed around the bases of plants that once grew in the area. Subsequently the plants have died leaving a calcareous (chalky) irregular cylinder around debris in various stages of decomposition and replacement by soil (sand). It is not clear whether the environmental physico-chemical conditions that produce these things are precisely defined by anyone, nor is there anything but speculation as to why the plants have died and the area returned to open sand. They are not common along the New South Wales coast, although small ones have been seen behind Wanda beach north of Cronulla. The structures are of fairly recent origin and not of geological age (J.T. Waterhouse).
- 13 The petrel here mentioned is the short-tailed shearwater (*Puffinus tenuirostris*), commonly known as the muttonbird, a term first applied to another petrel which sustained the starving community on Norfolk Island in 1790. The species of Bass Strait, long subject to commercial exploitation, occurs on islands there in enormous numbers during spring and summer; upwards of 500,000 young birds are collected each autumn and marketed. An assured migrant, the muttonbird moves off to the northern Pacific in autumn, returning to Bass Strait in September (A.H. Chisholm).
- 14 This paragraph and the preceding one, apart from its first sentence, is not in the existing copy of Bass's Journal.

- 15 Tobias Furneaux (1735-1781), was appointed to command H.M.S. *Adventure* which accompanied H.M.S. *Resolution* on Cook's second voyage. The *Adventure* was twice separated from the *Resolution* and on the first occasion, from 8 February 1773 to 19 May 1773, Furneaux explored much of the south and east coast of Tasmania without realising that it was an island (J.C. Beaglehole ed., *The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772-1775*, pp.143-61, 729-45; M. Flinders, *Terra Australia*, pp.lxxxvii-ix; R. Furneaux, *Tobias Furneaux Circumnavigator*, London, 1960).
- 16 Charles Bishop (1765-1810) had arrived at Port Jackson on the *Nautilus* in May 1798 bringing the missionaries from Tahiti (M. Roe, 'Charles Bishop, pioneer of Pacific commerce', *Proceedings of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol.10, 1962-63, No. 1).
- 17 This animal did indeed 'deserve a particular description'. What follows is a basic and enlightening reference to a remarkable group of marsupials which still bear the Aboriginal name of wombat. The island species, known as the Tasmanian wombat (*Vombatus ursinus*), is the smallest living member of the group, a feature resulting, no doubt, from a lengthy period of isolation. Curiously, the common wombat of the mainland was first described from fossil remains; it was recorded as a living animal by the small expedition sent to the Southern Tablelands by Hunter in 1798. Hunter studied a living specimen brought from Bass Strait and in 1798 sent the body in spirits to Sir Joseph Banks. Soon afterwards a living specimen was sent to England where it became a favoured pet. The wombat has since been made a pet in Australian reservations: this partly because, as Bass declared, it is 'very economically made', and partly because of its gentle disposition. But as Bass also made clear—in what ranks as the most vivid account in Australian records of an early contact with a native mammal—this terrestrial relative of the koala can be quite 'whizzing' when annoyed (A.H. Chisholm).
- 18 The description of the wombat up to this point comes from Bass's Journal, but the rest of the treatment of its appearance and habits, on pp.110-4, is not in that source. In the Banks Papers, however, there is an unsigned document entitled, 'Some Account of the quadruped called Wombat in New South Wales'. This is identical with the description given by Collins, except that he omits lengthy references to the sexual organs of the wombat. He did, however, repair this omission later in his book (Vol. II, pp.232-7). For another treatment of the wombat see Banks Papers, Vol.3, pp.295 ff.
- 19 It is not clear whether the 'living subject' was the one kept by Hunter in New South Wales, or whether it was the one sent to England. For Hunter's description of his wombat see Banks Papers, Vol.19, pp.47-9.

CHAPTER XV

- 1 Flinders had carried out hydrographic work off Furneaux's Islands in March 1798 (M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australia*, Vol.1, London, 1814, pp.cxxff; also M. Flinders, 'Narrative of an expedition to Furneaux's Island . . . March 1798', original in Melbourne Public Library).
- 2 The manuscript read 'it scintillates with steel'.

- 3 The 'swans' which turned out to be geese represented another remarkable discovery. The species is the one that became known as the Cape Barren goose (*Cereopsis novae-hollandiae*), a very distinctive bird which breeds on islands off the southern Australian coast and makes only short visits inland. It has been considerably reduced in numbers over the years, but it is now rigidly protected and is 'holding on' fairly well in the Furneaux group and some few other islands. With some frequency, it has been bred in captivity (A.H. Chisholm).
- 4 In the manuscript the words 'and also when in the Whaleboat, upon those islands, laying (sic) off Wilson's Promontory, and in Western Port', were inserted after 'Preservation Island' (G. Bass, Journal, pp.10-1).
- 5 This description of the Cape Barren goose did not appear in the manuscript journal.
- 6 In the manuscript the date was given as 2 November.
- 7 In the manuscript the following passage appeared after this sentence: 'It now becomes necessary to mention, that the Dates will henceforward be reckoned according to civil time, which seems best adapted to a Journal in which things seen, rather than things done, are the objects to be pointed out. The Charts of the Coast ought to be at hand, to refer to occasionally, in the reading of this narrative' (G. Bass, Journal, p.11).
- 8 According to Bass (Journal, p.12) they were to the eastward of the small island.
- 9 This once again was an error. The tide set them east (G. Bass, Journal, p.12).
- 10 Collins omitted the following passage which came after this sentence in the manuscript: 'The direction of the ebb tide, could only be accounted for by supposing it (after having swept along the western side of the bight) to have taken its course S.S.W. from the nearby similar trending of part of the eastern shore. Our latitude was 40°49'. The peak of Cape Barren was just visible' (G. Bass, Journal, pp.12-3).
- 11 After this sentence came the following. 'At 2 PM we passed a roach backed woody point, with a small island of the same form and with the same covering, lying so near to it, that they scarcely seem to be separated' (G. Bass, Journal, p.13).
- 12 Collins omitted the following passage here: 'Some very large smokes were observed at a great distance ahead: we approached them rapidly. At 5, the sloping land, after continuing for 6 or 7 miles, began to change itself into small hillocks of sand, half hidden by little patches of brush and low shrubs' (*ibid.*, p.13).
- 13 This was 3 November.
- 14 This last phrase, after 'on each side' was Collins'. In the manuscript the passage read: 'but an opening would still have remained doubtful, had not a strong inset of tide, determined its existance (sic)'. (*ibid.*, p.14).
- 15 Bass then observed: 'We then found that by steering in a direct line for the mouth of the harbour we had, when we approached near to it, quitted the deep channel and had passed to the right of a small green island, when we ought to have passed to the left of it; a mistake that will appear to have been almost unavoidable to anyone, who shall see this place at three quarters flood' (*ibid.*, p.15).

- 16 There followed in the manuscript these words: 'The result of that part of our enquiries, that relates to the extent and direction of the branches of the harbour, will be best seen, by consulting Mr. Flinders's Survey and the relation of those remarks, I at different times, and in different places, made, upon the neighbouring country, will perhaps be better understood and more comprehensive, if thrown into one general account' (*ibid.*, p.15).
- 17 This paragraph was Collins' version of the above quotation in note 16. It does not do justice to what Bass had said.
- 18 Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), had been made hydrographer to the Admiralty in 1795, in which position he remained until 28 May 1808. Earlier he had served the British government and the East India Company and had devoted much of his life to geographical and hydrographical studies (*DNB*, Vol. XIII, pp.402-3).
- 19 The words in brackets are not in the manuscript.
- 20 Bass also remarked that: 'The unusual fertility of the points, with which we were so much struck, upon first entering the Port, proved to be no fallacious specimen, of the quality of the Ground in general' (*ibid.*, p.16).
- 21 This sentence was inserted by Collins.
- 22 Bass referred to them as 'useless places' (*ibid.*, p.17).
- 23 Collins reversed the order and sense of this statement. The original read: 'but for the greater part, would perhaps turn to more advantage, if left for pasturage, than if thrown into cultivation; it would be rich as the one, but poor as the other' (*ibid.*, p.17).
- 24 Collins omitted the last part of Bass's sentence which read: 'their thickness, from that of a Tobacco Pipe, to a delicate female's little fingers' (*ibid.*, p.19). He also substituted 'continent' for 'New South Wales'. J.T. Waterhouse of the School of Botany, University of New South Wales, states that the expression 'gum tree' is used in the original sense of any tree exuding gum, whereas today the term would only be applied to species of *Eucalyptus* and often only to smooth-barked species of the genus. The Derwent River species of *Eucalyptus* are of course included in this account but the 'tree producing the yellow gum . . . of a very diminutive size' is the local grass-tree, kangaroo-tail or blackfellow's spear, *Xanthorrhoea australis*. The leaves are quite combustible. The 'she-oaks' would be the southern form of *Casuarina stricta*.
- 25 Use of the term 'Wal-li-bah' is a basic reference to the small type of kangaroo that was to become well known under the name of wallaby (A.H. Chisholm).
- 26 It is true that the bellbird (or bellminer) does not occur south of Victoria (whence it extends up to south-eastern Queensland), but the reference to its company tinkling as a 'melancholy cry' is surely unjustified. Presumably the enterprising 'Ben-nil-long' (Bennelong) was moved by appreciation of the bird's voice in naming his infant Dil-bong (A.H. Chisholm).
- 27 Black swans, which were first recorded on the Swan River, Western Australia, in 1697 (when several were captured by the Dutch voyager Vlamingh and taken to Batavia), have always been 'remarkable in point of number' in waters of southern Australia. Here again, Collins was fortunate in gaining basic information from the observant George Bass; for, apart from the light reference to the legend of the 'dying song', the description of the birds' behaviour when guarding callow young is both vivid and accurate.

- Moreover, Bass was correct in doubting the belief that the species feeds on 'fish, frogs, and water-slugs', it being in fact almost wholly vegetarian. Because of this food-fancy, and because they are still common, swans sometimes inflict considerable damage to pasture on the southern mainland (A.H. Chisholm). Bass made the further point that 'they much exceeded those I found at Western Point' (Journal, p.20).
- 28 The reference is to Thomas Pennant, *Outlines of the Globe, Vol.IV, The View of the Malayan Islands, New Holland and the Spicy Islands*, London, 1800, p.98. The author, writing of New Holland, made the observation that, 'I see no reason why it should not be called a fifth continent'.
 - 29 'Is this reasoning?' asked Bass (*op.cit.*, p.20).
 - 30 There is no lack of venomous snakes of certain species on Bass Strait islands and in Tasmania, but the occurrence there of 'guanoes' (presumably meaning one of the large monitors now known as goannas) seems doubtful (A.H. Chisholm).
 - 31 The people seen in the distance were a man and a woman, both dressed in what appeared to be 'cloaks of skins', and a boy (M. Flinders, *Terra Australis*, Vol.1, p.clv).
 - 32 The more recent Tasmanian Aborigines did not eat fish. This may seem incredible, but it is well substantiated, both by archaeology and by numerous ethnographic observations made during the early years of European settlement (R.M. Jones, 'A speculative archaeological sequence for north-west Tasmania', *Records of the Queen Victoria Museum*, Launceston, Vol.25, 1966, pp.1-2).
 - 33 Later observers described raft-like catamarans, made of three rolls of bark lashed together, which enabled the Tasmanians to reach many of their closer offshore islands (R.M. Jones, *ibid.*, p.9).
 - 34 Bass referred to this hatchet as a 'Mocqko' (Journal, p.23). The absence of the edge-ground stone axe from Tasmania has since been verified. Because Tasmania was cut off from mainland Australia around 10,000 years ago by rising post-glacial seas it did not receive a number of the more recent items of material culture found on the mainland, including the edge-ground axe, the boomerang and the spear-thrower (D.J. Mulvaney, *The Prehistory of Australia*, London, 1969, p.133).
 - 35 Bass specified it as 'three essential points of convenience' (*ibid.*, p.23).
 - 36 This reflection does not appear in the manuscript.
 - 37 Collins omitted part of Bass's sentence which read: 'with thick weather, and soon brought us under a close reefed Mainsail', (*ibid.*, p.23).
 - 38 This passage was further abbreviated by Collins. After referring to the bad weather Bass stated that it drove them back 'to Preservation Island—remained there one day—sailed with a favourable wind—got in sight of Port Dalrymple—when another furious westerly wind drove us backward, in sight of Furneaux's Islands, and then moderated and died away: as NE breezes sprang up and carried us off Port Dalrymple: but a Gale coming from the West, we put in there' (*ibid.*, p.23). This is a far more dramatic account than the terse one given by Collins. After the word 'westward' the following

- sentence should be inserted: 'It was so near calm all day, that the Sloop was almost stationary off the mouth of the Port' (*ibid.*, p.24).
- 39 From Collins' words it would appear that he was referring to the position at noon on 3 December. In fact, as Bass makes clear, it was 5 December. The latitude, moreover, was 40°56' and the longitude 146°23¾' (*ibid.*, p.24). After describing their position Bass observed that 'from the above date (i.e. 5 December) till the 8th, the remarks and observations, are all nautical; for which see Mr Flinders's Journal' (*ibid.*, p.24). The remainder of Collins' paragraph and the next four paragraphs are not in Bass's Journal.
- 40 'It is moderately high and level', observed Flinders, 'whence I called it Table Cape', (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.793).
- 41 The manuscript read: 'in the afternoon, a fresh breeze from the S.W. threatened us with a Gale: we employed the rest of the day, in beating up to the land with the hummocks on it: towards sunset, we fetched under its lee, and anchored off a little beach upon its NE parts, where no SW wind could molest us' (Bass, Journal, p.24).
- 42 The 'sea ear' was probably the mutton-fish or abalone (*Notohaliotis ruber*).
- 43 Of nine species of albatross recorded from Australian waters, only the white-capped albatross (*Diomedea cauta*) breeds in this area, and its only known nesting-places here are Albatross Island and two other Tasmanian islets, the Mewstone and Pedra Branca. As Flinders and Bass learned, the Albatross Rock is guarded by 'a furious surf on all sides' and so the birds there have remained largely undisturbed. A census taken by Tasmanian ornithologists in January 1960 revealed approximately 670 nests (A.H. Chisholm).
- 44 Collins omitted the last part of Bass's observation which read: 'but they yet knew nothing of the power and disposition of Man' (*ibid.*, p.26).
- 45 After this word the following appeared in Bass's account: 'we were kept upon a continued, lofty caper, by their posterior and lateral attacks: but, this could not last long; our legs and humanity soon grew tired of this dancing march. The cloven foot (of this Devil, Man) appeared: we made a road with our Seal clubs and soon taught them to respect our Species: the little Cotton Balls, did not neglect us: they, as their part of the fray, spouted plentiful squashes of oil, not inodorous, upon our feet and trousers' (*ibid.*, p.26).
- 46 The island was named by Flinders (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, p.797).
- 47 'In the afternoon', observed Bass, 'we stood for the largest Island, with a fresh breeze from the eastward; but the tide set so fast to leeward, we could not fetch it' (G. Bass, *op. cit.*, p.27).
- 48 At the beginning of this sentence Bass made the additional remark that 'Although the lee tides, would not allow us to fetch up, with either of the two largest islands; seen to the southwards; yet, we passed sufficiently near them, to see . . . ' (*ibid.*, p.27).
- 49 This paragraph and the preceding two paragraphs depart from Bass's account which, after the reference to Hunter's Isles, reads: 'December 10th. In the forenoon, the weather having moderated, we made sail; stretching in for the land; a large extent of which, was indistinctly [sic] visible, through a light haze, that hung about the Horizon: the northern extreme, was the land, that bore SSW the preceding evening, when under the lee, of the bluff head; the sight of which it now intercepted. . . .

At Noon, the Latitude, was 41° 13"; the longitude 144° 58". With a fresh breeze, at NNE we bore away along the shore which (word missing) to the S.b.E. and was distant, about three or four miles. From a shore of beach, with short rocky points at intervals, the land rises very gradually, to a considerable height (sic); its aspect is barren and brushy; its soil sandy.

Towards Sunset, the wind came round to West, and the clouds seemed preparing for a Gale. Now Gales from that quarter, upon this streight [sic] coast, and with the long swells, in our little Sloop, is tantamount to a wreck; so we hauled out to the SSW: but the weather remained moderate' (*ibid.*, pp.27-9).

50 This was 11 December.

CHAPTER XVI

- 1 'In the evening', Bass added, 'it fell calm, as we came abreast of a break, that had the appearance of an entrance into a harbour. The calm continued all night' (*ibid.*, p.30).
- 2 This sentence was not in the manuscript.
- 3 This was an error. The time was actually 8 am (*ibid.*, p.30).
- 4 Bass's observation was more qualified than Collins suggested. 'The same kind of strata appears in both,' Bass wrote, 'but, as far as could be determined in passing hastily, the necessary correspondence seems to be wanting' (*ibid.*, p.32).
- 5 In the manuscript the figure was fifteen degrees (*ibid.*, p.32).
- 6 'Near the South Cape', observed Bass, 'are several patches of regular jointed, column basaltes' (*ibid.*, p.33).
- 7 According to one writer the 'islands' were really the headlands about Port Davey. Tasman named them after members of the Council of India (J.B. Walker, *Abel Janszoon Tasman, His Life and Voyages*, Tasmania, 1890, p.33; J.B. Walker, 'The Discovery of Van Diemen's Land in 1642', *Papers and Proc. Royal Soc. Tasmania*, 1890, p.273).
- 8 Sir John Hayes (1768-1831), had been in command of the *Duke of Clarence*, which, together with the *Duchess*, had been chartered by a group of Calcutta merchants for a speculative voyage to New South Wales in February 1793. He visited and named the Derwent River, possibly exploring it as far as New Norfolk. Risdon Cove and Cornelain Basin still bear the names he gave them. (A rare chart of his route entitled, *Chart of several harbours in the south east part of Van Diemen's Land*, London, Arrowsmith 1798, is preserved in the Dixon Library; R.W. Giblin, *The Early History of Tasmania*, Vol.1, London, 1928; C.E. Lord, *The Early Explorers of Tasmania*, Hobart, 1920; I. Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes: His Voyages and Life*, London 1912.)
- 9 Flinders dropped the name which Hayes had given the bay and reverted to that used by Tasman.
- 10 Bass (Journal, p.36) had written: 'In passing between Betsey's Island, and Speak's Bay'.
- 11 Flinders gave detailed descriptions of their movements in the Derwent (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.808 ff).
- 12 This passage from the word 'chart' is not in Bass's Journal.

- 13 Bass's account was rather more detailed. 'Proceeding up the river, first on the right hand; all the irregularly shaped peninsular, on the east side, a little above the entrance; whose neck, is the narrow slip of land between Speaks and Ralph's Bays, is covered with a good but shallow soil and is lightly timbered'. After the words 'much drink' the following appeared: 'The Ground although but a slip, lies high; it rises gradually from the river to a middle ridge; from many parts of which, the almost surrounding water may be seen in every direction; and at the numerous openings of the wood, very extensive prospects of the distant hills, and of the various intersections of the Derwent and of Frederic Henry Bay' (*ibid.*, pp.37-8).
- 14 This sentence and the whole of the following paragraph is not in the original.
- 15 Flinders gave this cove its name because the neighbouring country seemed capable of supporting large herds of cattle (*HRNSW*, Vol.III, p.810).
- 16 The description of the encounter with the Aborigines which extends over this and the next seven paragraphs did not appear in Bass's Journal. On the other hand, Flinders referred to the episode in his *Terra Australis*, Vol.I, pp.clxxxvi-vii.
- 17 Tasmanians wore a kangaroo-skin cape over the shoulders, never the full-length possum-skin cloak of some Aborigines on mainland southern Australia.
- 18 Cases in which venomous snakes have died through biting themselves appear to be rare; in most instances the self-inflicted venom does not, it seems, take effect (A.H. Chisholm).
- 19 Collins is here abbreviating a passage from Bass which reads: 'If an aggregate, of the productive soils, of an equal extent of each were to be collected; it is certain, that the preponderation would be on the side of Van Diemens Land. The difference of the soil, of these two countries, bears, perhaps no inapt similitude, to that contrast drawn by european travellers, between the people of free, and those of absolute states. A few great Seigneurs, feasting in great castles, whilst multitudes of ragged peasants, are starving in wretched cottages; opposed to a more equalised property, plenty and a complete Suit' (*op.cit.*, p.42).
- 20 Bass added the further reflection that 'Of the great difference between the want and possession of these advantages, the Boor [sic] of the Cape, who lives beyond the Hottentot Mountains, can tell. And so might he, who cultivates the banks of some of the vast rivers of America, but, that he was born to their possession' (Journal, p.43).
- 21 Both of these capes were named by Flinders. The opening between them is now known as Port Arthur (*HRNSW*, Vol.III, p.812).
- 22 Bass raised the question: 'What is become of the part that was once connected with it? Did it sink into the sea suddenly? Or was it worn away by the gradual attrition of the water? Does not this Cape, among many others, remain as monument (*sic*) of those sudden and awfull changes, which the Oconomy (*sic*) of our Globe seems to require?' (Journal, p.43).
- 23 Collins is wrong to say that they reached this point on the day after passing Cape Pillar. In fact, it was at noon of 4 January, the very day on which they passed Cape Pillar, that they came within five or six miles of this island (*ibid.*, p.43).
- 24 Collins omitted the following sentence after Furneaux's Islands: 'Its rocks

- seemed like Granite, and its vegetation had the starved brushy aspect of that of Cape Barren Island' (*ibid.*, p.43).
- 25 This paragraph was not in the manuscript. Bass simply made the point that, after passing the unidentified group of islands, 'we kept standing on to the Northward and Westward with variable winds; having only indistinct views of the land till January 8th . . . ' (*ibid.*, p.44).
 - 26 Bass had come upon a virtual city of birds, and a favoured habitation of seals. As noted, the petrels (muttonbirds) and penguins occupied burrows, whereas two other species in particular, the Cape Barren goose and the gannet, bred above ground. The gannet (*Sula serrator*) is a large and handsome bird, distinguished for its ability in diving on fish from aloft. Its breeding colonies on Bass Strait islands, once very extensive, have latterly been severely reduced, mainly by fishermen who used the birds' bodies as bait for lobsters, and now the colonies are relatively small. Seals, being equipped with fur, became the subject of attack in Bass Strait from the outset, so that they eventually were threatened with extinction there. Small colonies still exist (A.H. Chisholm).
 - 27 The last part of this sentence read 'dried earth and grass' in the original and was followed by this description: 'Fearless and pugnacious [sic] the sight of Man, only raised the clamour of repulse and roused the spirit of revenge. Erected upon their legs, with half extended wings and threatening [sic] bills, they returned our attack, with a fury and effect that is altogether inconceivable' (Journal, p.44).
 - 28 Bass did not describe the pied shag as offensive but he did make the point that 'Even this shy bird is rendered intrepid, by affection for its young; but it carries its best security in its own stinking carcase' (*ibid.*, p.44).
 - 29 After referring to the common Gull, Bass went on to observe that this bird, 'taught possibly, by the necessity of frequenting harbours and other haunts of men, is ever cautious, ever suspecting. The whole district took flight, upon our approach and, hovering over our heads, with clamorous greetings, kindly repaid our refusal of their half animated eggs, with showers of honours, that from our Sealskin Caps fell, like Aaron's holy oil, upon our beards and Garments' (*ibid.*, p.45).
 - 30 These remarks, to the end of the paragraph, are not in the manuscript.
 - 31 It is true that seals 'branch off' into many species: there are some six of these in Australian waters. Almost all were heavily assailed by skin-hunters after the days of Bass and Flinders. Perhaps the shrewd Bass was correct in attributing 'uncommon sagacity' to some of these animals and in guessing that training in man's service might be possible (A.H. Chisholm).
 - 32 This and the next paragraph dealing with the advantages resulting from the discovery of Bass Strait are taken verbatim from Flinders' account of the voyage (*HRNSW*, Vol.III, pp.816-7).
 - 33 For an account of Flinders' voyage on the *Investigator* see M. Flinders, *Terra Australis*, Vol.1, pp.3 ff; E. Scott, *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders*, Sydney, 1914.

CHAPTER XVII

- 1 This Order, dated 16 January 1799, is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.362.
- 2 The Acting Commissary was James Williamson.
- 3 The Criminal Court met on 29 January 1799. Sergeant Robert Turner was the man sentenced for forgery. Robert Simmonds was condemned for burglary and John Hall was sentenced to 300 lashes. Several other cases of theft were also heard (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/6).
- 4 The trial of Samuel Wright took place on 15 February 1799. He was prosecuted by Simeon Lord for felony. Collins was wrong in saying that he was executed on 8 February (*ibid.*, p.6/7).
- 5 The only other persons brought before the court which tried Samuel Wright were Hannah Fisher, who was sent to Norfolk Island for 14 years, and Joseph Wass, who received 700 lashes. Presumably these two were part of the 'nest of thieves' to which Collins referred.
- 6 Hunter's Order of 28 February 1799 banning private stills is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.364.
- 7 The soldier was probably John Darke (St Phillip's Register, p.30).
- 8 This was the first serious flood since settlement began at the Hawkesbury in January 1794. The river had risen in September 1795 but had caused little damage. Collins' account of the 1799 flood draws heavily on the description given by Hunter in his despatch to the Duke of Portland of 1 May 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.354-5.
- 9 The Order is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.365 and was issued on 5 March 1799. The British fleet under Nelson had engaged the French in Abu Qir Bay near Alexandria on 1 August 1798. Victory resulted in a peerage for Nelson, the isolation of the Napoleonic army in Egypt, and the restoration of British prestige in the Mediterranean.
- 10 The trial of Isaac Nichols, who was accused by Mary Mullett, alias Talmage, of receiving stolen goods, was highly controversial. The three naval officers on the bench considered him innocent but were overruled by Judge-Advocate Dore and the three officers of the New South Wales Corps who sat on the court. Hunter believed the trial had been improperly conducted, that Dore was prejudiced, and that several witnesses had committed perjury. He referred the case to London and in January 1802 the authorities pardoned Nichols (Hunter to Portland, 21 Feb. 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.278 ff., 330 ff., Hobart to King, 30 January 1802, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.366).
- 11 The soldier who appeared in this case was Maurice Roach and the seaman was James Johnson (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, Jan.1798-June 1800, p.6/20).
- 12 Simon Taylor had been sentenced at Warwick on 19 July 1788 to seven years and was given a grant of 30 acres at the Field of Mars by Colonel Paterson in 1795. He was tried for the murder of Ann Smith on 17 May 1799 and was executed on 20 May 1799 (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/10; Mutch Index).
- 13 The Duke of Portland took a different view to Collins and after examining the returns concluded that Norfolk Island was less costly to run than the

- mainland settlement. Hunter, however, believed that the system of accounting was at fault (Hunter to Portland, 25 May 1798, Portland to Hunter, 5 Nov. 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.151, 392).
- 14 The views which Collins expressed concerning the disadvantages of Norfolk Island and the desirability of establishing a settlement at Van Diemen's Land were in advance of those thus far adopted by the Government. At the time when Collins wrote, the authorities had not yet contemplated settling Van Diemen's Land. On the other hand, Hunter recommended establishing a subordinate settlement there (Hunter to Sydney, 1 June 1799, Dixson Library, Add.285).
 - 15 This information came from a brief report made by Governor Hunter (Hunter to Portland, 10 July 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.373; Hunter to Sydney, 1 June 1799, Dixson Library, Add.285).

CHAPTER XVIII

- 1 Five people, including Simon Taylor, were summonsed to appear before the court on 16 May, but two were not arraigned. Of the others, William Meredith was acquitted of theft and William Rayner was found not guilty of theft (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/12).
- 2 Robert Lowe had been sentenced at Derby Assizes on 31 July 1784 to 14 years' transportation and arrived on the *Surprise* on 1 June 1790. He worked under Andrew Hume, the Superintendent of Government Stock at Parramatta. Two others were tried with him in May 1799, namely Samuel Griffith and Christopher Dodd, but there was insufficient evidence to convict them (*ibid.*, p.6/12).
- 3 This court was held on 31 May 1799. The young man was James Flavell and the accused Robert Allen. Flavell was 26 years old and had been sentenced to life at Northampton Assizes on 5 July 1796. One more case was heard on 31 May 1799, that of John Owens, who was found not guilty of rape (*ibid.*, *loc cit*; Mutch Index).
- 4 Cook described his method of curing pork as follows: 'In the cool of the evening the Hogs were killed and dressed, then cut up the bones taken out and the Meat salted while it was yet hot, the next morning we gave it a second Salting, packed it in a Cask and put to it a sufficient quantity of Strong Pickle, great care is to be taken that the meat be well covered with pickle other wise it will soon spoil' (J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure*, p.296).
- 5 This information comes from the Order of 30 April 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.366.
- 6 Gurrah was a coarse Indian muslin (see the Order of 8 May, 1799, *op.cit.*, 366).
- 7 Hunter had drawn the attention of the authorities to the fact that he had no information concerning the sentences of Irish convicts as far back as 1796. The uncertainties which this omission created in part underlay the unrest among the Irish. Collins based his information on the Order of 10 May 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.366.
- 8 The trial was held, not on 4 July but on 14 July, and the execution must have been on 16 July. Thomas Jones, Elizabeth Jones and William Elberry were

- found guilty and a fourth man, Robert Trotman, was acquitted (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/13; Johnson to Hardcastle, 26 Aug.1799, in Rev. R. Johnson, Letters extracted from *Evangelical Magazine* 1800, Mitchell Library; The Missionaries to the Directors of the Society, London, 25 Aug. 1799, W. Henry to London Missionary Society, 29 Aug.1799, *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.708, 711-2).
- 9 The Order was dated 2 July 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.586 ff.
 - 10 This Order is in *ibid.*, p.586.
 - 11 The document on which Collins drew for this information has not survived. There is, however, a return for August 1799 which provides totals that do not agree with those of Collins. This gives the area under wheat as 4,992 acres and that under maize as 2,156 acres. Despite inaccuracies, Collins' details are nevertheless extremely valuable because they provide the only information up to 1799 concerning the relative position of the principal farming districts. The return of August 1799, which distinguishes between officers, settlers and government, is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.384.
 - 12 This was Mark Flood.
 - 13 Palmer's agent was the emancipist John Stogdell.
 - 14 In August 1799 the officers owned 91 horses, 218 head of cattle, 3843 sheep, 1103 goats, 513 hogs, 873 acres of wheat, 67 acres of barley, 296 acres of maize, 3½ acres of oats and 4 acres of potatoes (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.384).
 - 15 Government livestock amounted to 22 horses, 482 head of cattle, 508 sheep, 51 goats and 30 hogs (*ibid.*, p.384). In March 1801 the number of wild cattle was estimated at between 500 and 600 head (King to Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.11).
 - 16 The accommodation on the *Hillsborough* may have been as Collins described it, but Hunter complained bitterly of the poor clothing and bedding with which the convicts were supplied. Moreover, the authorities had permitted them to embark from Langston Harbour, near Portsmouth, where typhus was raging. Thus, 95 convicts died on the voyage and six after landing (Hunter to Portland, 27 July 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.376-8; for a first-hand account of the voyage see W. Noah, 'A Voyage to Sydney in 1798 and 1799', Dixon Library, MS 32).

CHAPTER XIX

- 1 Hunter had given grants at Bankstown on the George's River in 1798 to a number of former marines and to two officers of the New South Wales Corps. In 1799 he issued a further twelve grants there (J.F. Campbell, 'The Dawn of Rural Settlement in Australia', *JRAHS*, Vol. 11, 1925, Pt.2, p.116).
- 2 A journal kept by Flinders on his voyage of exploration to the north is preserved in the Mitchell Library in a manuscript volume entitled 'Voyages of Bass and Flinders' and numbered C211. This has been edited and published by G. Mackaness in a work entitled *The Discovery and Exploration of Moreton Bay and the Brisbane River, 1799-1823*, Part 1, Sydney, 1956. It seems certain, however, that this was not the journal which Flinders submitted to Hunter and to which

Collins had access. In his account Collins included passages that are not in the surviving journal which presumably was an abbreviated version of the original.

- 3 Hervey Bay was named by Cook after Augustus John Hervey (1724-99), later third Earl of Bristol (J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Voyage of the Endeavour*, p.332). The other 'large opening' was Glass House Bay.
- 4 Hunter's instructions to Flinders have not survived and the Governor does not appear to have informed London of the expedition. Flinders claimed that the initiative came from him and that it was his idea 'to explore Glass-house and Hervy's Bays, two large openings to the northward, of which the entrances only were known'. He hoped to find 'a considerable river discharging itself at one of these openings, and of being able by its means to penetrate further into the interior of the country than had hitherto been effected' (M. Flinders, *op.cit.*, p.cxciii).
- 5 Bongaree (also spelt Bungary and Bungaree) was 'a native whose good disposition and manly conduct had attracted' the 'esteem' of Flinders. Another person whom Flinders chose to accompany him was his brother S.W. Flinders, a midshipman on the *Reliance* (M. Flinders, *Terra Australis*, Vol.1, p.cxciv; *ADB*, Vol.1).
- 6 Cape Hawke had been named by Cook after Edward, Lord Hawke (1705-1781), Admiral of the Fleet. For Cook's reference to the two hills or 'hillicks' see J.C. Beaglehole, *op.cit.*, p.315.
- 7 The Solitary Isles lie a little to the south of Grafton.
- 8 Tasman's Head is the southernmost part of Bruny Island, Tasmania.
- 9 It has been suggested that the 'small river' was probably the Orana River.
- 10 Flinders himself named Shoal Bay, 'an appellation', he observed, 'which it but too well merited'. The Clarence River, which flows into the bay, was not sighted by Flinders.
- 11 Collins' word 'perroquets' is one of the most picturesque of the early terms applied to Australia's parrots. The Reverend Robert Knopwood (1804) called these birds 'parretts' and the Reverend Richard Johnson, who sent a honey parrot (lorikeet) to England in 1788, described it as a 'Laura Keet'. The crow referred to as possessing a note 'remarkably short and hasty' is one of the smaller of Australia's five corvids (crows or ravens); the pelican is Australia's only bird of its kind, and the gull recorded was probably the common silver gull (A.H. Chisholm).
- 12 On the eastern coast of New Holland, observed Cook, 'We found . . . the palm of three different sorts'. The first grew in plenty to the southward, had leaves that were 'plaited like a fan', a cabbage that was small, 'but exquisitely sweet', and abundance of nuts that made good fodder for hogs. The second more closely resembled the 'true cabbage tree of the West Indies; its leaves were large and pinnated, like those of the cocoa-nut', and it produced a cabbage which was larger but less sweet than the first variety. The third, like the second, was found only in the northern parts and 'was seldom more than ten feet high, with small pinnated leaves, resembling those of some kind of fern: it bore no cabbage, but a plentiful crop of nuts, about the size of a large chesnut [sic], but rounder'. Those who ate these nuts found to their cost that 'they operated both as an emetic and a cathartic with great violence although

- they did not have these effects on the natives' (J. Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, Vol. III, p.624).
- 13 A description of the mellori is given in the article by Nicholas Fontana entitled 'On the Nicobar Islands and the Fruit of the Mellori' *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III, pp.149-163. 'The tree that bears this nutritive fruit', he observed, 'is a species of Palm' which the natives of the Nicobar Islands termed 'Larum' and the Portuguese, called 'Mellori'. 'The fruit, which has the shape of a palm', he noted, 'and the size of a large Jaca, comes out of the bottom of the leaves, and when it is nearly ripe, which is known by the natives on the change of its colour from green to yellowish, it is gathered, and weighs from thirty to forty pounds'. The method of cooking the fruit is described in this article, but not in the *Annual Register* of 1794.
 - 14 Cape Byron was named by Cook after Vice-Admiral, the Honourable John Byron (1723-86) who circumnavigated the globe in the *Dolphin* in 1764-66.
 - 15 Mount Warning was so named by Cook because it gave warning of some dangerous breakers (J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Voyage of the Endeavour*, p.318).
 - 16 Moreton Bay was named by Cook after Douglas James, fourteenth earl of Morton (1702-68), who was President of the Royal Society from 1763. He had taken an active part in the preparations for Cook's expedition. The spelling of his name with an 'e' derives from Hawkesworth. It is worth noting, in connection with the Bay itself, that neither Cook nor Flinders discovered its full extent and it was not until John Oxley's explorations of 1823 that a complete picture of it was formed (J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Voyage of the Endeavour*, p.318; I. Lee, *Early Explorers in Australia*, London, 1925; *DNB*, Vol. XV, pp.331-2).
 - 17 The hills to which Cook gave this name were distinguished by their 'singular form of elevation which very much resembles glass houses' (J.C. Beaglehole, ed., *Voyage of the Endeavour*, p.319).
 - 18 This paragraph and the next seven describing the episode with the natives is not in the Mitchell Library's copy of Flinders' Journal. This Journal will hereafter be referred to by its Mitchell Library number C211.
 - 19 This paragraph was not in C211.
 - 20 This paragraph was not in C211.

CHAPTER XX

- 1 This spot is now known as Redcliffe.
- 2 The green headland is now called Woody Point.
- 3 This sentence and the next three paragraphs are not in C211.
- 4 According to Flinders, the breeze on the morning of 18 August was from the south.
- 5 This was Peel Island.
- 6 This paragraph and the next one are not in C211.
- 7 Collins has here greatly abbreviated Flinders' treatment.
- 8 Flinders made no mention of developments on Sunday 21 August. Indeed, he remarked: 'Sunday, Nothing happening worth recording, is therefore omitted', p.18.

- 9 This paragraph and the next two are not in C211.
- 10 Collins abbreviated the happenings of 22-5 August.
- 11 This paragraph and the next three are not in C211.
- 12 The second part of this sentence is not in C211.
- 13 Collins' version of events is considerably abbreviated.
- 14 The events which Collins described on pp.178-182 are not in C211.
- 15 There are marked changes in fishing methods along the Australian east coast. To the south, the fishing spear was used by men, the line and shell hook by women, while, apart from a single and therefore doubtful observation, the net was not used. Around Moreton Bay, as Collins observes, both seine and scoop nets were employed, apparently to the complete exclusion of fishing either by line or spear. Further north, however, both line and spear fishing were again popular, with spear and hook types appearing very similar to those from Port Jackson. The use of nets around Moreton Bay thus appears to break a continuous tradition along the east coast. It is an interesting problem for prehistorians to define and examine (R.S. Lampert).
- 16 At this point Collins omitted Flinders' detailed description of his passage out of the bay (C211, pp.23-6).

CHAPTER XXI

- 1 Once again, Collins abbreviated Flinders' account. In the latter's journal the events of 1 and 2 August took two and a half pages to describe (C211, pp.26-8).
- 2 The rest of this paragraph is not in C211. It is not clear to what species of sea-snake reference was made. The only appropriate reference in Cook's writings was to some sea-snakes which he described as being three feet long and marked by black-and-white rings (*Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780*, p.924). Dampier saw two species, one about four feet long, yellow in colour and spotted with dark brown markings, the other smaller and shorter with black and yellow spots (W. Dampier, *A Voyage to New Holland*, ed. J.A. Williamson, London, 1939, p.90).
- 3 Collins compressed Flinders' description of events from 3 August until 7 August. A more detailed account will be found in C211, pp.29-41.
- 4 This and the next five paragraphs are not in the original.
- 5 Flinders' skill is not in dispute, but his northern trip produced disappointing results. He had not discovered the large river which he hoped would enable him to explore the interior, he had missed the Clarence River, and did not see the site of the later city of Brisbane (E. Scott, *Life of Matthew Flinders*, Sydney, 1914, p.159).
- 6 Job, or John, Williams had been sentenced at Worcester on 11 March 1797 to seven years' transportation and arrived on the *Barwell* in May 1798, aged 20. Amongst the others who were tried at the session of the Court which convicted him, in August 1799, were Mark Flood who was fined £30 for assault, James Windsor, George Young and Richard Faringdon, who each received seven years for theft, and Robert Howard, who was given six months' hard labour at Toongabbie for theft (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/14).

- 7 This information was drawn from the Order of 29 August 1799 (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.589).
- 8 After receiving news of the discovery of coal the Duke of Portland had ordered Hunter to despatch a cargo on the *Buffalo* and the *Porpoise*. He believed this would be less expensive than the current practice of sending coal from England. None, however, was sent until after Governor King's arrival (Portland to Hunter, 21 December 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.241-2).
- 9 The *Supply* was so decayed and leaky that in January 1798 she was condemned after all attempts at repair had failed (Hunter to Portland, 25 June 1797; Hunter to Nepean, 10 July 1797; Hunter to Portland, 10 Jan. 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.32, 83, 121).
- 10 The Order was dated 9 October 1799 (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.590).
- 11 An account of the trial of the master of the *Hillsborough*, William Hingston, is in Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/17.
- 12 An Order altering the ration, dated 2 October 1799, is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.590. It did not specify the alterations, however, and it is not clear whence Collins derived his information.
- 13 The price of barley was in fact fixed at eight shillings a bushel and not six shillings (Government and General Order, 30 Oct. 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.591). Wheat had previously been worth ten shillings a bushel and maize five shillings.
- 14 It is not clear what Collins meant when he blamed the 'labouring people' for their 'unbounded extravagance'. The scarcity of wheat was in fact due partly to the drought of the preceding year and also to another factor which Collins did not mention. Since 1797 Hunter had been forced to issue additional wheat to those supported by the Crown in lieu of rice, peas, butter and sugar. These last-mentioned articles were supposed to form part of the ration, but the British authorities neglected to send supplies. This resulted in so great an increase in the demand for wheat that Hunter considered 'the whole crop . . . scarcely [sic] sufficient for our purposes' (Hunter to Portland, 10 June 1797; Hunter to Portland, 10 Jan. 1798; Hunter to King, 4 June 1798, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.22, 119, 157).

CHAPTER XXII

- 1 Hunter was impressed by Atkins and used his services extensively. Although others have regarded him as a drunken reprobate, Hunter described him as 'capable and intelligent' and claimed that he had 'at all times given me the most perfect satisfaction'. These qualities, he argued, ideally suited him for this new position (Portland to Hunter, 10 Apr. 1799; Hunter to Portland, 10 Nov. 1799; *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.341, 393).
- 2 This information comes from the Order of 11 November 1799 (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.592).
- 3 Arrangements for the sending of copper coin had been made by P.G. King who succeeded Hunter as Governor (King to Under-Sec. King, Mar. 1799, King Papers, Norfolk Island etc., Vol. II, p.180c).

- 4 One point which Collins overlooked was that Paterson had also been charged with conducting an enquiry into the alleged trading activities of the officers of the New South Wales Corps. This matter was arousing concern in London and Paterson was ordered to take steps to check any malpractices (*HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp.639-40, Vol. IV p.228). Collins was probably unaware of these instructions and drew his information from the Government Order of 29 November 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.593).
- 5 This information is based on the Government and General Order of 29 November 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.593.
- 6 The persons appointed were: William Eggleston and Edward Collins, who were to examine the Sydney district; John Jamieson and Richard Fitzgerald, who were to take care of the Parramatta district, and Andrew Thompson, David Brown, John Ryan and R. Hill, who were to examine the situation at the Hawkesbury (Government and General Order, 19 Nov. 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.592).
- 7 Hunter had called a meeting of the leading inhabitants, on 12 June 1799, to consider means of defraying the cost of building a gaol. He considered that as property-owners would benefit from the imprisonment of thieves they should contribute to the cost of a prison. His proposals were in fact accepted and the charge was met by a levy of sixpence a bushel on grain sold to the commissariat, by levies on the importation of spirits, by wharfage dues, and by Sydney residents providing labour. The building, which was situated on the northern corner of George and Essex Streets, was completed in June 1801 at a cost of £3954 (Hunter to Portland, 10 July 1799; Enclosure, Hunter to Portland, 2 Feb. 1800; Government and General Order, 10 June 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.374-76, 450, 585; also n.7, 181, *ibid.*, 737).
- 8 This information comes from the Government and General Order of 2 December 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.593-4. Copies of these petitions have not survived.
- 9 Records of this session of the court are not available.
- 10 For background to John Chapman Morris see Vol. 1, Chap. XVIII, n.1.
- 11 The public order which Hunter issued on this subject has not survived, but the Governor did refer to the subject in his despatch to the Duke of Portland of 7 January 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.433-4. The representations of the settlers are not available.
- 12 Eight people were in the gaol when it was set on fire and 'several were shockingly scorched' (Hunter to Portland, 7 Jan. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.434). Hunter gave the date of the fire as 28 December 1799.
- 13 The first occasion was on 11 February 1799 when the gaol at Sydney was destroyed (Hunter to Portland, 1 May 1799, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.355).
- 14 These figures were totally incorrect. The correct totals for government, officers and settlers combined in August 1799 were:

Live Stock

| <i>Horses</i> | <i>Mares</i> | <i>Bulls & Oxen</i> | <i>Cows</i> | <i>Hogs</i> | <i>Sheep</i> | | <i>Goats</i> | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | | | | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 47 | 91 | 192 | 517 | 3459 | 2016 | 3087 | 912 | 1851 |

Land in Cultivation

| <i>Acres of Wheat</i> | <i>Acres for Maize</i> | <i>Acres of Barley</i> | <i>Acres of Oats</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 6065 | 2532 | 82 | 7½ |

Comparison of this table, which is in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.384, with a similar one for August 1798 (*ibid.*, 198) shows that there had been a considerable increase in the number of livestock and the area cultivated. The increase in acreage, however, was not 1,745, as Collins indicated, but 2,417.

CHAPTER XXIII

- 1 The *Minerva* was an East Indiaman and had left Cork on 24 August 1799 with 165 male and 26 female convicts, including some Irish rebels who had been reprieved from death sentences imposed by court-martial. Amongst them were General Joseph Holt, Father James Harold, the Reverend Henry Fulton and two British army officers, Captains Alcock and St. Leger. These men agreed to leave Ireland to escape execution for political offences and were shipped without any legal warrant (articles on Holt, Harold and Fulton are in *ADB*, Vol. 1; C. Bateson, *op.cit.*, pp.158-9; J. Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels in 1798*, Vol. 1, London, 1938).
- 2 The name of this vessel was the *Thynne*. Its cargo comprised 40 bales of cloth, 542 mounds of sugar, 100 chests of tea, 35 mounds of soap, 25 mounds of black pepper, 7 mounds of coffee, 4 mounds of salt petre, 500 pairs of shoes, 1 box of indigo and 9,106 gallons of rum. Amongst those who owned shares were John Macarthur, William Balmain and James Williamson. They claimed that the venture offered them a means of obtaining goods at a moderate rate and pointed out to the Governor that if he allowed them to land the cargo their wants would be satisfied and they would not compete with the lesser settlers in purchasing from other visiting ships (Hunter to Portland, 15 Jan. 1800; Officers to Governor Hunter, 13 Jan. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.436-8).
- 3 The settlers included Edward Powell, who was constable at the Hawkesbury, Simon Freebody, James Metcalfe, William Timms and William Butler (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/16).
- 4 Collins has this episode out of chronological order. The court assembled to hear the case on 14 October 1799. The despatch in which Hunter informed the British authorities of the affair was, however, dated 2 January 1800 and it was probably this which explains why Collins mentioned the affair at this particular stage of his book (Hunter to Portland, 2 January 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.401-3).
- 5 The Governor's Orders, dated 22 February 1796 and 13 May 1797 will be found in *HRA*, Vol. I, p.688 and *HRA*, Vol. II, p.78. Paragraph seven of Hunter's Instructions relating to the treatment of the natives is in *HRA*, Vol. I, p.522.
- 6 The Court agreed that the prisoners were guilty, but was divided as to what should be done with them. Captain Waterhouse, Lieutenant John Shortland and Lieutenant Matthew Flinders recommended corporal

punishment. Judge-Advocate Richard Dore, Captain John Macarthur, Lieutenant Neil Mackellar and Lieutenant Thomas Davies, however, said that the case should be specially reserved. In the circumstances Hunter was obliged to submit the case to London, because the charter of justice provided that in capital cases this course must be followed if five out of the seven members of the court failed to concur. (The record of the trial is in the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/16. It is reprinted in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.403-22).

- 7 The river was the Hawkesbury.
- 8 The physician was Bryan O'Connor, and the Protestant clergyman was the Reverend Henry Fulton. Two priests had recently arrived, the Reverend James Dixon who came on the *Friendship* and the Reverend James Harold who was brought on the *Minerva*. Accounts of their activities will be found in *ADB*, Vol. 1. Collins' words were taken verbatim from Hunter to Portland, 20 March 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.475; see also *ibid.*, Note 185, p.738.
- 9 This Order has not survived.
- 10 This Order has not survived. Indeed, there exist only five of the Orders issued by Hunter in 1800 amongst the Colonial Office papers. Collins performed a valuable service in describing the contents of some of those that have since vanished.
- 11 The floods followed an 'uncommonly wet season' which in itself had adverse effects on the harvest (Hunter to Portland, 20 March 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.473). Collins seems to have drawn heavily for his description of the flood and its consequences on Hunter to Portland, 30 March 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.480-1).
- 12 Hunter had issued an Order regulating wages on 10 March 1797, but he had no means of enforcing it. Quite apart from their desire to make as much money as possible, labourers found the cost of living high and charged more than the stipulated sum (Government and General Order, 10 March 1797; King to Portland, 28 Sept. 1800, Enc.4; *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.75, 620-1).
- 13 Thirteen cases appeared before the Court, one for forgery, one for assault and the rest for theft (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes and Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/21).
- 14 P.G. King had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island in December 1789 (*HRA*, Vol. I, p.134). In May 1798 he was given a dormant commission as Governor of New South Wales which gave him the right to assume command in the absence or death of Hunter. It had not at this stage been decided to recall Hunter and the move was a precautionary one prompted by considerations similar to those which resulted in Hunter being given such a commission when Phillip was Governor. In November 1799, however, Hunter was ordered to return to England and King was sent to replace him. His appointment was at first temporary and it was not until 1802 that it was confirmed. At the time of his arrival, therefore, he was more than just Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island, but less than a permanent Governor. Collins was presumably not fully aware of his exact status. For a discussion of King's position see the introduction to *HRA*, Vol. II, p.xvii.

CHAPTER XXIV

- 1 The correspondence relating to the transportation of convicts from India is in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.475ff.
- 2 The three gentlemen who enquired as to the prospects of settling were W.H. Marshall, G.M. Lowder and A.C. Seymour. They did not seek livestock from the government, but planned to bring cattle with them and pointed out that this would 'prevent Government incurring the expense of supplying us with breeding stock'. They sought no more assistance than was given to any other settlers and asked for grants that were of moderate size. Collins gave a misleading impression of their proposals which would certainly not have involved the government in 'considerable expense'. It is not known how the authorities in London reacted, but this group of settlers certainly never arrived (Hunter to Portland, 20 March, 4 Encs., *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.475-80).
- 3 Orders to this effect had in fact been issued on 2 October 1795, 30 November 1796 and 20 March 1797. Their frequent repetition suggests that they were ineffective (*HRA*, Vol. I, p.678, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.69, 76).
- 4 The six prisoners capitally convicted were: Richard Weston, John Hardy, William Earle, William Boyd, Barnaby Sands and John Mackay. The first two were condemned for sheep-stealing. At the same session five convicts were sentenced to corporal punishment and three were discharged (Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Minutes of Proceedings, 1798-1800, p.6/22).
- 5 The *Belle Sauvage* had arrived on 13 May 1800 with a speculative cargo that included rum and brandy (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.572).
- 6 Since P.G. King had returned to England the command of Norfolk Island had devolved upon whoever was in charge of the New South Wales Corps detachment stationed there. King considered that the settlement had suffered from not having one person in charge for any length of time. After his arrival in New South Wales he looked for a naval officer to take control of the island, but finding none he offered the position to Major Foveaux who was ambitious for promotion. Hunter concurred, and so did the British authorities, who appointed Foveaux Lieutenant-Governor in June 1801 (King to Portland, 29 Apr. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.502, 512; Portland to King, 19 June 1801, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.101).
- 7 Grimes was appointed to this position by King who was concerned at the licentious behaviour of the Hawkesbury settlers (King to Portland, 28 Sept. 1800, Enc. King to Hunter, 6 July 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.657).
- 8 This was the lyrebird that was shot on the expedition to the south-west beyond the Cow Pastures in 1798.
- 9 The committee was composed of Richard Dore, Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Captain Abbott, Lieutenant Mackellar and William Balmain. The papers relating to the Irish conspiracy are in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.575-83, 637-51; see also J. Holt, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.100 ff.
- 10 The Orders governing the Loyal Associations are in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.595, 636-7.
- 11 Collins made it sound as though Hunter, on his own initiative, had decided to return to England and left King in charge in much the same way as Phillip had ordered Grose to take command. In fact, Hunter's inefficiency had resulted in

- his recall and King had been sent out to replace him (Portland to Hunter, 5 Nov. 1799, Hunter to Portland, 20 April 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.392, 487).
- 12 Hunter really had a low opinion of the New South Wales Corps and was on poor terms with many of its officers.
 - 13 These figures agree substantially with those in *HRA*, Vol. II, p.632.
 - 14 According to P.G. King, in September 1800 24 settlers had been imprisoned for failure to repay debts, 47 had their farms under execution for debt, and of the remainder there was 'scarcely one whose crop is not mortgaged'. Of 10,800 acres cleared in 1800 only 7,195 could be cultivated, leaving 3,605 lying waste (King to Portland, 28 Sept. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.608; King to Portland, 1 March 1802, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.426).
 - 15 Two sets of petitions in which the settlers drew attention to their plight were submitted to Hunter. The first were placed before him early in 1798 and these were discussed by Collins. The second, which were more critical of the Governor, were drawn up at the beginning of 1800 (*HRA*, Vol. II, pp.440-50).
 - 16 The British authorities had approved the establishment of a public store which would retail goods at minimum price as far back as 1797. A consignment to stock it was despatched, but Hunter, presumably through oversight, neglected to place further orders, with the result that the store ceased to function. P.G. King had established such a store on Norfolk Island and before returning to the colony arranged for regular supplies of goods to be sent to the mainland (Portland to Hunter (?) 1797, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.110-1; King to the Governor of NSW, 23 Sept. 1800, *ibid.*, pp.551-2).

CONCLUSION

- 1 This information comes from a return drawn up by Governor Hunter shortly before he left the colony. A copy of this return, and of P.G. King's comments on it will be found in *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.560-3, 617-9.
- 2 The gaol at Sydney was destroyed by fire on 11 February 1799. The gaol at Parramatta was burned to the ground on 28 December 1799 (*HRA*, Vol. II, pp.355, 434).
- 3 According to Hunter's own list a barracks for the military stationed at the Hawkesbury was also included in this group of buildings (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.561).
- 4 St John's Church, Parramatta, was not completed by Hunter. At the time of his departure the walls had been erected and the roof was well advanced, but the building was not finished until 1803 (King to Hobart, 1 March 1804, *HRA*, Vol. IV, p.471).
- 5 For information concerning the Government House at Parramatta see H. Proudfoot, *Old Government House, The Building and its Landscape*, Sydney, 1971.
- 6 In Hunter's statement the word was 'skilling'.
- 7 This region is now Pennant Hills.
- 8 This was a fair estimate. For a discussion of the labour position see A.G.L. Shaw, 'Labour', in G.J. Abbott and N.B. Nairn, *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821*, Melbourne, 1969, pp.105-8).
- 9 The details of land granted and leased are copied from a return drawn up by Governor Hunter (*HRA*, Vol. II, p.566). In the original there is an error in the

- addition concerning the total area granted at Toongabbie. Collins has corrected this, but he wrongly gave the area granted at Liberty Plains as 830 acres. In the original the figure was 850 acres. This, in turn, gave rise to differences between the two returns concerning the total acreage granted in the colony. In the Hunter return it was given as 47,307 acres.
- 10 This is a valuable list and contains most of the arrivals and departures. A more complete list will be found in J.S. Cumpston, *Shipping Arrivals and Departures Sydney, 1788-1825*, Canberra, 1965.
 - 11 It has not been found possible to identify Arthur Harrison. For background to the lyrebird and the drawings that were made of it see A.H. Chisholm, 'The Romance of the Lyrebird', *JRAHS*, Vol. 43, 1957, Pt.4, pp.190 ff.
 - 12 Sir Everard Home (1756-1832), was a leading surgeon and student of anatomy. He had been elected to the Royal Society in 1785 (*DNB*, Vol. IX, pp.1121-2).
 - 13 The sloop *Lady Nelson* had been constructed and fitted out for the purpose of exploring and surveying unknown parts of the coast of New South Wales and determining its hydrography. The southern and south-western coasts, together with Bass Strait and Van Diemen's Land, were to be examined first because importance was attached to 'the probable benefits of the whale fishery and the shortening of the passage through the straits'. Grant was ordered to sail through Bass Strait on his way to New South Wales, but he had insufficient provisions to chart the strait. After refitting, however, he left Port Jackson on 6 March 1801 to execute his orders (Portland to the Governor of NSW, 26 Feb. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.498-501, King to Portland, 10 March 1801, also Encs. 1, 2 and 3, *HRA*, Vol. III, pp.58-66).
 - 14 The despatch in which King informed Portland of his decision to send the *Porpoise* to Otaheite was dated 8 July 1801 (*HRA*, Vol. III, p.114). These documents included Instructions to William Scott, a letter to the Reverend Jefferson, Resident Missionary at Otaheite, a Proclamation to English Merchants calling at Otaheite, and a letter to King Pomarre (*HRA*, Vol. III, pp.137-43).
 - 15 The merchant was Robert Campbell and the contract, dated 10 March 1801, is in *HRA*, Vol. III, pp.29-32.
 - 16 The *Lady Nelson* had been prevented from exploring Bass Strait because the weather was bad, but she was able to examine Western Port (King to Nepean, 21 Aug. 1801, *HRA*, Vol. III, pp.263-4; King to Portland, 8 July 1801, *ibid.*, p.116).
 - 17 The two kingdoms were Britain and Ireland and they were brought together by the Act of Union of 1801. Details of the celebrations were announced in the Government and General Order of 29 May 1801, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.253.
 - 18 This crime had been discovered a few days before Hunter's departure. Amongst those whose sentences had been shortened was a man who returned to England as Hunter's servant. He was tried at the Old Bailey on 18 September 1801 and found guilty of returning from a sentence of transportation for life. King ordered those convicts who had benefited from the fraud and who were still in the colony to give themselves up on pain of severe penalty. Lord Hobart transmitted a list of convicts transported since 1795 so that the colonial registers might be put in order (King to Portland, 28

- Sept. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, p.625; King to Portland, 21 Aug. 1801, *HRA*, Vol. III, pp.122, 144; Hobart to King, 29 Aug. 1802, *ibid.*, p.564).
- 19 King had established an Orphan School on Norfolk Island with the object of ensuring that orphans were brought up decently and not corrupted by the many bad characters in the settlement. On 9 September 1800 he announced plans to create a similar institution on the mainland. He established a committee composed of two clergymen, two civil officials, Mrs Paterson and Mrs King, and, subject to the approval of the authorities in London, he purchased a house at Sydney that belonged to Captain Kent to house the orphans. He also began constructing another building at Parramatta for the use of children there. The project was financed from customs and shipping dues as well as from private subscriptions (King to the Secretaries of the Treasury, 7 July 1800; King to the Rev. R. Johnson and others, 7 Aug. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. II, pp.525, 534-7; King to Portland, 21 Aug. 1801; King to Portland, 1 Mar. 1802, *HRA*, Vol. III, pp.123, 425).
 - 20 Collins drew this information from King's despatch to Portland of 19 Nov. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.39.
 - 21 This information comes from the Government and General Order of 19 Nov. 1800, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.39.
 - 22 King kept a much closer watch over the importation of liquor than Hunter had done and despatched regular returns to London. These figures are drawn from a return showing the position during the first year of King's administration, 28 September 1800 to 21 August 1801 (*HRA*, Vol. III, p.131).
 - 23 Population figures for the mainland come from a return in King to Portland, 21 Aug. 1801, *HRA*, Vol. III, p.154.
 - 24 It is not clear why Collins, when giving details of government farming and grazing, referred to the position in August. The figures for June were provided in the return from which he gained his information concerning private settlers. They show the government as owning 777 sheep, 880 cattle, 30 horses, 476 acres of wheat and 300 acres for maize. Using these figures, the total area sown with wheat in June 1801 becomes 5333¼ acres. Collins also reached this total, but his addition is wrong (*HRA*, Vol. III, p.145).
 - 25 Collins was unduly pessimistic. On 14 January 1803 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the projected settlement at Port Phillip. On his recommendation this was abandoned on 30 January 1804, but he established a new settlement at Risdon Cove on the River Derwent in Van Diemen's Land. There he remained until his death on 24 March 1810.

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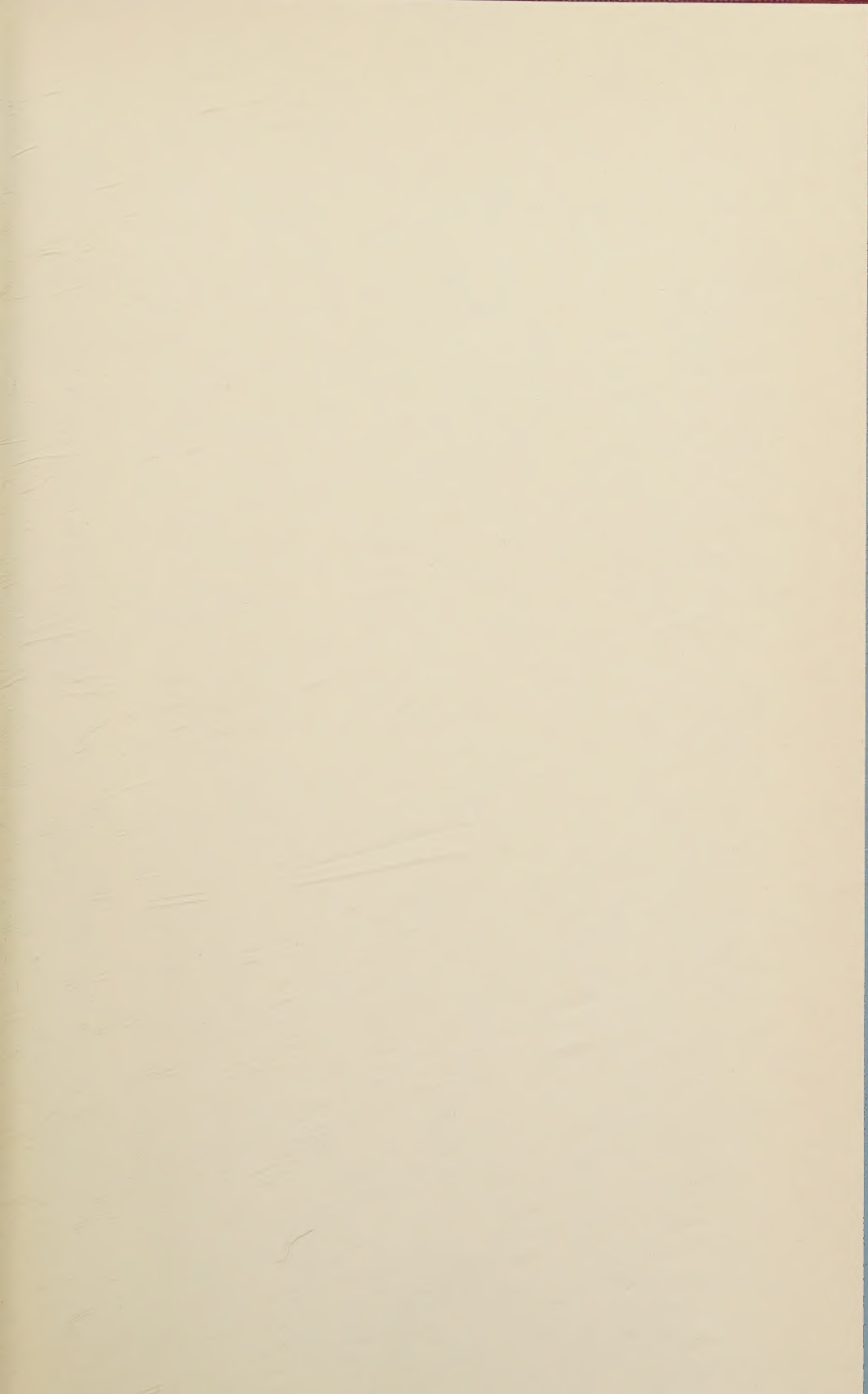
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